XII, No. 47 *September 1923*

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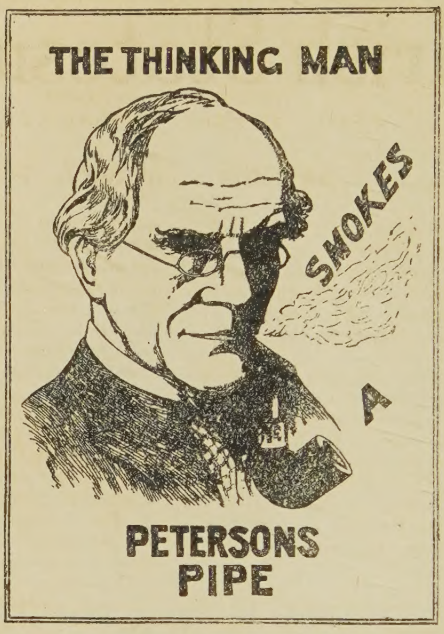

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AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on **Monday, the 30th day of July, 1923.**

The Directors submit herewith the Statement of Accounts for the half-year ending 30th June, 1923.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, and bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ..	£55,748	7	0
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	14,229	4	5
	£69,977	11	5
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£27,246	4	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Ten per cent. per annum (subject to deduction of Income Tax)	25,000	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000	0	0
To next Account	12,731	7	5
	£69,977	11	5

A special profit of £47,753 16s. 0d. has been realised on Sale of Investments. The amount has been added to the Reserve Fund, which now stands at £475,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 13*th July*, 1923.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1923. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 ; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	
,, Reserve Fund	475,000 0 0	
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	15,045,626 16 5	
,, Sundry Agents	47,853 19 11	
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	18,471 18 7	
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £69,977 11 5		
Less : Transferred to Reserve Fund ... £27,246 4 0	42,731 7 5	
	£16,129,684 2 4	

ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,330,941 15 1	
,, Investments, viz. :—		
War Loans and other Government Stocks	7,784,384 12 4	
Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	150,977 4 6	
	9,266,303 11 11	
,, Bills Discounted, (including Irish Free State Bills), Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,609,733 3 3	
,, Sundry Agents	74,975 1 11	
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	178,672 5 3	
		£16,129,684 2 4

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1923

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Inland Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	124,869 5 11	
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	27,246 4 0	
,, Dividend to be paid in August, 1923, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... ... £ s. d. 25,000 0 0		
,, Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0		
,, Balance to next Acct. 12,731 7 5	42,731 7 5	
	£194,846 17 4	
By Balance from last Account ...		14,229 4 5
,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies		180,617 12 11
		£194,846 17 4

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1923, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

DUBLIN, 13*th July*, 1923.

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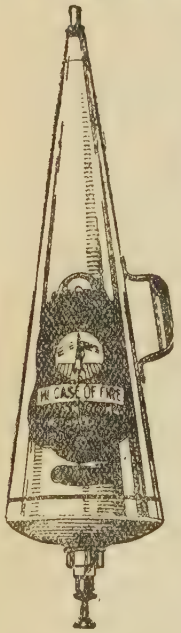

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CITY ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND

BY MICHAEL CRONIN, M.A., D.D.
Professor of Ethics and Politics, University College, Dublin.

WE are all familiar with the general features of civic administration in Dublin and Irish cities generally. They are governed by a large council elected by the people for a short term of years. Out of the council a number of small committees are formed to look after administration, *e.g.*, those for paving and lighting. The committees are completely subject to the council. It is the council that ultimately carries out the work, not only of legislation,[1] but of administration also. It is the council that in the last resort gives out contracts, makes appointments, raises money by way of taxation, and spends the city revenues. Any authority exercised by the committees is delegated only.

Now the system of administration obtaining in Ireland is marked by three characteristics, each with an important bearing on the welfare of the people and on public conditions generally. In the first place the council is for the most part, and normally, irresponsible. Elected by the people, it cannot be put out of office during the appointed period, and its judgments are final within the limits of the jurisdiction assigned to it. In very exceptional cases its action may be brought under the notice of the L. G. D. A surcharge may be imposed. In certain eventualities the council might even be suppressed by the

[1] I use the term legislation in a wide sense as including bye-laws, regulations, ordinances, or any such acts of the council, as opposed to purely administrative acts.

central authorities. But normally the council acts from itself alone. Nobody asks for an account of its stewardship. It submits its finances to audit, but normally it cannot be brought to book for these by any body. For certain exceptional projects it has to get the sanction of the government; but if it attempts nothing exceptional it need never come under the eyes of the government in any way. In that sense the council is irresponsible.

Secondly, the council is not an expert body. No special qualifications are required for membership either of council or of committee. The biggest business in the world, after that of the national government, is the business of city administration. There is no private business comparable to it either in extent or complexity, in the immense sums of money expended or the importance of the public issues involved; and yet, whereas the general manager of a private business is chosen for his efficiency and because he is an expert in his own line, there is not a single qualification, either of proficiency, of experience, or of anything else, required in those who administer our cities. I admit, of course, that the council employs certain professional persons to take charge of certain departments—*e.g.*, the city engineer, the city analyst, the city architect. But these are ordinary employees, engaged to carry out the behests of the council. They have nothing to do with policy: they have no initiative or control, and no responsibility beyond that of doing what they are told to do by their masters, the council. A big drapery store also employs an engineer for special work, but he is in no sense an administrator. He just carries out the work decided on by the directors, in particular the managing director, just like any other of their employees. So also the council is the chief administration—not the experts. But, as I said, whereas the managing director is specially trained for administration in his particular line of business, the council is not trained in any way. Its members may be engaged most hours of the day in other kinds of

work ; only their spare moments and their spare attention are given to the gigantic, highly important, and often most complex business for which they assume complete and ultimate responsibility at the hands of the electors on polling day.

Thirdly, the council acts as a whole in all its business : there is no member of it that could be said to have complete control of any one department, and therefore there is no one on whom the public can fix the blame when anything goes wrong. Even if the council were a responsible body, which it is not, its responsibility would amount to little unless the individual member was also responsible. You cannot bring the blush of shame to a council or even to a committee of a council ; but you can always reach the susceptibilities of an individual and compel him to mend his ways, when the public indignation is definite and strong enough to find effective utterance. In an Irish city council the individual is responsible for nothing. Our streets may be dirty, for half a year the public thoroughfares may be blocked by needless and unsightly obstacles, offensive odours may be most common, the sanitary arrangements may have become worse than questionable, yet not one per cent. of the people would know whom to come down on for such conditions, nor could any individual be pointed at as the one to blame.

This want of concentration of responsibility in the hands of individual persons is most keenly felt in one department in which above all others the public should be in a position to convey censure where necessary, viz., appointments to offices under the council. It is the council as a whole that makes appointments, and the council may remain unconcerned at censure and wear a composed mien even under heavy abuse. Also, jobbery in the matter of appointments becomes serious only where it is wide extended ; an individual with a great number of appointments in his hands has only a few friends whom he may like to place, whereas a council has three times as

many friends as there are jobs, and of patronage is quite insatiable.

These being undoubted characteristics of the city councils in Ireland, the results are just what might be expected—extravagance and inefficiency; a huge burden of taxation and very little to show for it; a people conscious of many things wrong, but quite apathetic as to what may come of them; on the one side the ratepayers whose property has become almost valueless, the rates running to twenty-one or more shillings in the pound; on the other side a poor people dwelling in the midst of poverty and disorder, with no choice open to them but that between the filth of their own tenement rooms and the garish brilliancy of the publichouse, with all the consequences, moral and physical, which that dread choice entails.

In all this let it not be thought that many good things may not be said of our corporations, particularly that of Dublin, which is, after all, the one chiefly known to me. There are many things for which we can afford to be grateful. They have, for instance, upheld the honour of the city by their scrupulously incorrupt administration—a big thing to be able to say of any city corporation. Also, we can make appeal to public works of no ordinary excellence—*e.g.*, our system of main drainage, our parks, our artisans' dwellings, our shorelands reclaimed. But can any one interested in public affairs honestly say that much more might not have been done both in the past and now, and with less cost to the ratepayers? If more has not been done, I do not think that we can blame the corporation. I think that they have done their best; I think they have done wonderfully in the circumstances. Few, if any, of them have had training in the big business of city administration, and yet the city is not gone bankrupt, and we can boast a fairly healthy set of public conditions. If things are not better, it is because the system has been against them, and they have had

to take the system as it came down to them. It is not for the corporation to attempt to alter its powers or its composition; the corporation could not do so, even if it chose. It is for the national government of the country to propose and carry through changes of the kind; and if report speaks truly, the present government is not unmindful either of its powers or its duties in this important matter. Whether radical changes will be effected I do not know, but it seems as if some new legislation is about to be attempted, and it is certain that public opinion will favour any new developments that are not wholly out of harmony with the economic and political requirements of the country.

Under these circumstances, and with a view to awakening public interest in the matter, which interest must always be of immense help to any authority attempting new departures in government, I may be permitted to set out in brief form a few of the more prominent systems of city administration outside of Ireland, in particular in America, where once our present Irish system universally obtained, but which has long since been discarded for other and better forms; and in Germany, where city administration before the war attained to such a degree of perfection as could hardly have been thought possible in any branch of human affairs.

The two schemes of city administration that seem to find most favour in America at present are the commission and city manager systems. The first of these takes many forms. In Galveston, for instance, the people elect five commissioners for a period of two years, and the whole management of the city rests in their hands. The five commissioners themselves divide the four departments of administration between them, each one of four becoming head of a particular department, the fifth becoming president of the commission. The president is given no special powers, but is expected to co-ordinate the work of the four departments. The commission as a whole is

responsible for all major appointments; each head makes the minor appointments in his department. And not only is the commission responsible for the administration, it undertakes also the legislative or ordinance work of the city, and passes all appropriations. They have thus complete control of public affairs in all its branches.

In different places differences of detail appear. In some, for instance, the commissioners are elected for three, in others for four or even six years. Salaries range from a few hundred to many thousand dollars. Most important of all, in some places the commissioners, instead of dividing up the departments between themselves, are elected as heads of particular departments, with the obvious effect of limiting the discretion of the commission as a whole.

The chief advantages of the commission system are, first that it concentrates responsibility in the hands of a very small body of men; secondly, it makes it possible to introduce good business methods in a way which is impossible in the case of a body of forty or fifty persons; thirdly, though the commissioners are not professional experts, still they have to give up practically their whole time to their work, and are elected because of their known business capacity; fourthly, responsibility being concentrated on a very small body, appointments are likely to be made on grounds of efficiency alone, favouritism being always shown up and punished at the later elections; finally, the best men are generally secured as commissioners, for good men will stand for positions to which so much authority attaches, and they have a better chance of being elected on a large register than in the small ward constituency, which seems to be inseparable from the system of the large elected council.

Many objections have been raised to the commission system, but to my mind there is only one really valid objection, viz., that it places the appropriating and spending powers in the same hands. For this reason, if

the commission system were adopted in Ireland, I would confine it to the work of administration exclusively. Let a large council elected by wards enact ordinances and pass the appropriations; but let a commission elected by the city as a whole administer the city, making appointments, giving out contracts, preparing the budget, and spending the moneys appropriated by the council.

In the *city manager* plan the process of concentration of authority is carried out in its fulness; for it places all authority and responsibility in the hands of one individual. The plan was first set up in Dayton, the first charter dating from 1914. The city manager plan does not exclude the idea of the commission. On the contrary, where the system obtains the first body to be elected is the commission, generally for a period of four years. This body does the whole work of legislation, and has a general control over the city finances. The commission it is that appoints the city manager, but this officer once elected takes over supreme control in administration. The commission cannot interfere in administrative matters. The city manager presents the budget to the commission, and while the commission votes the necessary moneys, the city manager spends them. Generally he is appointed by the council for no definite term of years, and can be dismissed by them. He appoints all the heads of the city departments and also the subordinate officials, and can remove them at will, except in the case of the classified services under the civil service commission—classified servants can only be dismissed after a hearing by the civil service commission. He appoints, amongst others, the professional experts in the different departments; but he exercises a general control over all, keeping in touch with the various departments, and adjusting plans and projects, particularly on the financial side. He can hold an enquiry into the work of any department at any time, and call for books and

witnesses. In the city manager, therefore, the administrative authority is fully concentrated, the only limitation to his powers and authority being, and it certainly is a considerable one, that he holds his own position on a very precarious title, that, viz., of the good-will of the elected commission.

I notice that the city manager plan is usually to be found only in the smaller cities, those, viz., with a population of less than 100,000, a fact which suggests at once the possibility of its being adopted in the smaller cities of Ireland, but hardly in Dublin. In Dublin the population is too large, the conditions too complex, and the financial responsibility too great to admit of such a degree of concentration of powers.

Instead, then, of the Dayton system of the small elected commission working on the legislative side and a city manager on the administrative, I would recommend a large elected council for legislation and financial appropriations, and a small commission elected in the way already stated for the whole work of administration. *What has to be remembered in this connection is that whereas any right-minded body of men can look after legislation or ordinance-making, and is fully qualified to exercise such a general control over finance as is given in the right of appropriations, only the strong business man can look after administration.* The administrative commission, too, would be kept fully in check through their inability to pass appropriations, and their spending of the public moneys would be always under review and fully controlled where the appropriations are made by a distinct body. Their period of office and terms of appointment are matters open to discussion; there are many alternatives, and much depends on the circumstances of different places.

In the larger cities of America such as New York, Chicago and Boston, city government is a very varied affair, each city adopting the system most suited to past tradition and existing conditions. In a brief article

like the present it would be impossible to discuss these severally, but I may be permitted to point to certain features of the Boston scheme which may prove helpful and suggestive in regard to Dublin. Up to 1885 the Boston system was practically the same as our own. There were council, committees, and mayor, standing in the same relation that they do at present in Dublin. All power, legislative and administrative, was vested in the council, the committees being only advisory bodies chosen from the council itself, the mayor only chairman of the council, and from the point of view of authority only a figurehead. The mayor, however, was elected by the people, not by the council, as with us. In 1882 certain accessions of authority occurred to the position of mayor. He was given a qualified veto over the acts of the council. He could remove certain officers appointed by the council, but he could not appoint. This was the beginning of that process of development in the position of mayor which ultimately led to his complete emancipation as administrative head, and setting him up as a rival authority to the elected council. As the city grew it became apparent that Boston could not be administered either by the council or by a mere group of committees selected from the council, as Dublin is now, and so, in 1885, all executive authority was transferred to the mayor to be exercised by him through officers and boards working under his supervision. He was given full power of appointment and removal, made contracts, and was actually given a veto on appropriations by the council. In 1908 an enquiry was held into the affairs of the city, many instances of extravagance, waste, and inefficiency were brought to light, and so in the following year a new charter was obtained considerably modifying the distribution of the powers. The details of the new charter would hardly be interesting to Dublin readers, but there are one or two suggestive provisions which require to be mentioned. The mayor still remained head of the executive, but a few appoint-

ments were taken out of his hands, viz., the police commissioner, the members of the licensing board, and the civil service commission. These appointments are made *by the State*. When the mayor nominates the head of a department, he must *send on the name to the state authorities* to be approved by them. Only the mayor can originate a financial proposal. The council of course votes the appropriation, but the suggestion comes from the mayor. The State assumes large rights of supervision and control, particularly in matters common to the city and the surrounding places, such as the maintenance of the roads, fire, etc. Otherwise the mayor is independent of the State authorities, as he is also independent in his administrative functions of the council, which is a purely legislative body.

We have seen how in America the work of administration has gradually come to be taken out of the hands of the large elected council and placed in the hands of one or a few men specially selected for their business-capacity and experience. The same principle of complete separation of the administrative from the legislative authorities has been adopted in *Germany*, and seems on a fair way to being accepted everywhere except in our own country and England. But the Germans go one step further than the Americans. They insist that the heads of the administration should be not only men of good business training but actual professional experts in the business of city administration. The Burgermeister, or mayor of a large Prussian city, is supposed to have gone through a course of training in the University in the subjects connected with his work. He becomes apprenticed to a city administrator in some important centre, obtains a post as administrator in some large town, gives up all his time and thought to his profession, and, if he is a success, is sure to be appointed from one town to another of greater importance, until finally he finds himself head of the administration in some of the biggest cities of the Reich.

He is selected by the elected city council in the same way as a board of directors selects the general manager, *i.e.*, on the grounds of experience, business-ability, and public record. In advertising, the council sets out the subjects in which proficiency and testimonials are required. They appoint their administrator sometimes for life, generally, however, for a period of about twelve years. As a rule he is re-eligible, which of itself acts as an inducement to the effective performance of his duties, whilst it avoids the danger present in all life-appointments of the over-stereotyped régime. Though head of the city administration, the Burgermeister as a rule makes no appointments, a feature to my mind of considerable weakness in the German system. There is no purpose in the German system that could not be as well and as effectively attained by a system of appointment by the administrative head, a veto being given to the council. Not having the right to appoint, so also the Burgermeister cannot dismiss; but he is given authority to suspend or fine officials who are remiss in their duties.

It is a matter for discussion whether the strictly professional expert makes a better city administrator than the selected man of business with leisure to attend to the city's requirements. To my mind the expert is likely to prove less responsive to new ideas, and will prove somewhat narrow in outlook. But either system is incomparably better than the committee system of administration operative amongst ourselves. You cannot have good administration where the committees are made up of men elected by the people on the basis of considerations other than those of city administration, who are themselves ordinary members of the council, who have either no business experience or are so much immersed in their own businesses that the city affairs occupy only second place. The objection becomes more emphatic and urgent where, as with us, so many men are made to share the authority that no single person or small group

of persons stands out as responsible when mal-administration occurs.

Besides the systems mentioned, there are others also which might be cited as helpful in the circumstances obtaining in this country. But I think I have said enough to show how easy it would be to find some substitute, either complete or partial, for the form of city government obtaining in Ireland at present, a form of government which has been imposed on us wholly from without—and, I may add, imposed upon us with little regard for Irish conditions and requirements.

MICHAEL CRONIN.

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

No. I.—BY C. J. FRANCE M.A., PH.D., LL.B.

[*Mr. C. J. France, the writer of the following comment, is well known in Ireland. He was the representative of the American Committee for Relief in Ireland,* 1921-1922*; he was also a member of the Committee appointed* (1922) *to draft a Constitution for the Irish Free State. Before coming to Ireland Mr. France was Executive Manager of the Port of Seattle, a Municipal Corporation charged with the development and administration of the leading port on the Pacific Coast. He was also, for several years, a member of the Council of the National Municipal League of America, an organisation devoted to the improvement of Municipal Government in the United States. Mr. France has made an extensive study of political economy, public finance, and government in general.*—EDITOR.]

To an American who has lived in Ireland almost continuously for the past three years and who has become profoundly interested in the future of the country, nothing appears more hopeful than the many evidences of a will to deal constructively with the problems confronting the new State.

To deal constructively with any problem means to deal with it boldly. Dr. Cronin, in the above article, has gone to the heart of one of your biggest problems, with the courage of constructive thought.

Twenty years ago City Administration in America was notorious for its corruption, its inefficiency and the attendant heavy cost to the taxpayer. It became so bad—it was a stench in the nostrils of the American people. But we saw no way out. We were wedded to the

idea of a large City Council of twenty or more—each representing a Ward. Divided authority was one of the early gods of the American Republic.

Then one day a tidal wave swept away a large section of the City of Galveston, Texas; millions of dollars of property were destroyed, thousands of lives were lost, and the morning after the City awoke in despair of ever recovering from the blow. But in the face of disaster the people of Galveston overthrew their republican idol of Divided Authority and chose five prominent men as an emergency body with power to act. Thus started in American cities what we know as the Commission Form of Government.

Its basic idea is concentration of responsibility. It is antithetic to the old idea of divided authority. You remember the old adage—"Do not put all your eggs in one basket." But it was Mark Twain, I think, who said: "Put all your eggs in one basket—and watch the basket."

The best form of Commission Government not only places the whole responsibility of legislation and administration in a small body, it also places on one Commissioner the responsibility of administration of one department. Thus you have from five to nine men elected at large, with full legislative and executive powers. In their legislative capacity they act as one body, but in their administrative capacity each is head of a Department for which he is responsible. They are expected to devote their whole time and energy to the City's business, and they are paid good salaries. If you ask something for nothing, you generally get nothing in return.

In my own City—the City of Seattle—with a population about the same as that of Dublin, this form of City Administration has worked well for over ten years past. In my opinion the chief reason why it works so well, lies in what I might term the latent capacity in the average man. In Seattle, most of the men chosen to the City Council, under the new system, were not prominent business men. Nor were they, on the other hand, politicians. In only one case was a really prominent business man elected to the Council, and he was a conspicuous failure.

Space will not permit me to discuss this in detail. But there is no greater fetich in the world than that of the business man in politics. The fact that a man has made a million in the manufacture and sale of soap is no indication he can succeed as a City Administrator.

The key to the success of the Commission Form of Government is concentration of all legislative authority on a few—and the concentration of executive responsibility of a given Department on one man alone. The reason is—responsibility develops men. The more responsibility is put on a man the stronger he becomes, especially when he sees the eyes of a whole City concentrated on him. It either makes a real man of him, or his own incapacity weeds him out after one term of office.

Dublin is notorious as being one of the dirtiest cities in Europe, but if it were possible to hold a general election to-morrow for one special

purpose, viz. :—to elect one man to keep Dublin clean, and a man was chosen by several hundred thousand people to do that job—and that job alone—would he do it? Would he? I would bank anything that in three months Dublin—from being the dirtiest—would become the cleanest city in Europe.

That's the secret of the Commission Form of Government—*The spot light!* No more than five or nine are on the stage at one time. In administration only one man is on the stage, and he is in the light of public opinion all the time.

For the above reasons I would not favour retaining a large Council, as suggested by Dr. Cronin, for purpose of appropriation. Neither would I favour a Mayor with powers similar to those of the Mayor of Boston, nor would I favour the German system.

The plan of a City Manager, or the German plan of a trained expert acting as Mayor—appointed for twelve years or more—I do not think suited to the democratic temperament of the Irish or the Americans. In my own opinion the City Manager plan has failed in America, because it drew too close a parallel between a private business and the public business of City administration.

It is true, as Dr. Cronin says, that the administration of a City is a complex business—a gigantic business. But it is, after all, public and not private, and I believe public business, to be well done, must feel daily the pulse of the Body Politic. All its transactions must be open —while in a private business its transactions are largely closed to the public eye.

I cannot stress too strongly one point, viz., the key to success of any business, public or private, is the fact that responsibility and concentrated authority in any office develops men of capacity.

Take a leaf out of the book of Ireland's recent history. To-day the Irish Government is being managed by men who, a few years ago, were practically unknown. One of them—the President—was a City Alderman. And yet not even their bitterest enemy could claim that these men, under storm and stress, have not developed first class administrative and legislative capacity.

Where Democratic Governments have failed is in exhibiting a lack of confidence in man, and so dividing authority. That no man is directly responsible for anything—that is the trouble not only with City Government in Irish cities, it has been the great defect of elected governments the world over. C. J. FRANCE.

No. II.—BY JOHN J. HORGAN.

THE questions raised by Dr. Cronin's article are of great and far-reaching importance. I have already directed attention to them in the pages of this Review.[1] Their satisfactory solution consists of two parts.

[1] "City Management in America" (*Studies*, March, 1920).

The first and most necessary step is to make the machinery of local administration intelligible to the voter; the second is to put local administration on an efficiency basis, to give our counties, towns and cities a business administration. It is obvious from the experience of other countries that official leadership, where it can be made efficient, is everywhere the best of all. Democracy suffers at present, both here and elsewhere, from diffused authority and amateur experiments. It is therefore essential, as has been done in France and Germany and is rapidly being done in America, to concentrate responsibility by electing small councils or commissions of men who can be relied on to devote their best ability to the service of the community, and to give them power to employ the best expert assistance. The ideal to be aimed at in local administration may best be described as a democratic autocracy. Something similar to the American commission-manager plan would seem to be extremely suitable to our needs.

But the people themselves must learn to take an intelligent interest in municipal affairs. No administration can ever be truly responsible to the voter until its structure and powers are made intelligible to him. If the people understand what is best, they will eventually succeed in obtaining it. The trouble in Ireland is that the people are not only apathetic but hardly conscious of anything wrong, otherwise the streets of a city like Cork could not, as at present, be left in a condition of dirt which would disgrace a native village in Central Africa.

How can this state of things be remedied and the electors educated? First by better reports of municipal activities. Municipal reports should be concise, explicit, easy to understand, and issued promptly. There should be compulsory publication in the public press of a clear municipal balance sheet or budget. Second by public organisations devoted to investigating and reporting on all the various aspects of local administration at home and abroad. Such organisations have done splendid work in America and have educated the public to demand better local administration and new methods. Third by local exhibitions describing the work of local administration and giving examples of its various local activities illustrated by charts, diagrams, and moving pictures. Fourth, and by no means least important, by civic instruction in the schools.

Our direct appeal should be to the heads not the conscience of the citizens. The civic conscience will not go to sleep if the people's eyes are kept open. Neither in this country nor elsewhere will the people endure misgovernment if they know it. We may alter our methods of civic administration till the crack of doom without making a real democracy out of an ignorant and careless populace. There is scarcely any problem of importance in local administration that nine voters out of ten would not grasp intelligently, at least in its broader bearings, if it were properly laid before them. A city with experts at the head of its departments, but without an intelligent electorate, is like a motor car with a skilled driver but without petrol; it will run smoothly enough

on a down grade, but it has no active power with which to climb the hills. It is therefore a mistake to put the expert first and the citizen last. A good scheme of local administration is that which will enable an intelligent electorate to convey ample powers without undue check from intricate and uncertain legal restrictions. Direct responsibility to such an electorate is the surest safeguard against the abuse of powers by public officials. The prime essential, therefore, of efficient local administration is an interested and informed community.

The second essential is a suitable organic framework of government; and the third is a smooth working and consistent scheme of internal organisation. In Germany the official and non-official elements are happily blended in a joint council called the *Magistrat* or administrative board selected by the town council, which itself has no administrative power. By thus enlisting private citizens in the direct work of civic government and combining with the skill of the professional the enthusiasm of the amateur, the German system has served to give to departmental administration an elasticity and responsiveness to public opinion which it might not otherwise have had; and it has drawn to the service of the municipalities the co-operation and sympathy of a considerable body of laymen representing important and influential interests. German cities have both the form and the fact of administration by paid experts; the cities of England and France have the fact but not the form. In all three lands the most potent factor in securing efficient and economical local administration is the plain fact that, whatever the external forms of local government may be, the actual conduct of affairs is entrusted very largely to professional officials who hold office for long terms.

City administration is however only a part, if the most important part, of local administration; the whole question of town and country government should, if possible, receive legislative treatment at the same time. It cannot be too strongly urged that no change should be made in local administration in Ireland till the methods in force elsewhere have been thoroughly examined and reported on by a competent commission. Any hasty attempt to camouflage the old system under new names, which is, alas! too frequently the method employed (witness the recent report of the Judiciary Commission), can lead to no results of a beneficial nature. It is pre-eminently a case for hastening slowly. We must first realise our necessities and our ignorance, then by intelligent co-ordination, by progressive methods, by looking into the future and planning wisely, we may slowly build up an educated, happy and healthy nation—a place "where men live a common life for a noble end."

JOHN J. HORGAN.

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION IN MUNICH

BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

THE Middle-Europe *débâcle* was so stupendous and varying in incident that little attention was paid to the events which took place at Munich in March–April, 1919.[1] Yet those events, though even to-day only vaguely known to most Germans and hardly known at all outside of Germany, are of peculiar importance. To all who value Christian civilisation it must be of interest to examine how Bolshevism, its deadliest disease, developed in the only two cities of Europe (as distinct from Russia), where it has as yet succeeded in getting any hold.

Of the Budapest revolution something has been said in a past issue of this Review ;[2] here it is proposed to give a short account of the "Munich Tragedy," and of the events which led to it.

On November 5, the day after the Versailles armistice, sparks from the Russian conflagration blazed out along the German coast, at Wilhelmshaven, Hamburg, etc., but were instantly stamped down. One, however, had fallen on Munich, where it lay for months slowly spreading, hardly noticed, till on April 7 it blazed forth and for three weeks kept the whole city in flame.

All Germany was surprised. A score of German towns had been thought likelier tinder.

Capitals reproduce to a great extent the characteristics of the nations whence they are being continually re-

[1] *Die Neue Zeit in Bayern*, and *Die Zeit der Zweiten Revolution in Bayern*, by Dr. Franz August Schmidt (Munich, 1921) ; *Die Münchner Räterepublik*, by Marx Gerstl (Munich, 1921) ; *Bayerische Socialisierungserfahrungen*, by O. Neurath (Vienna, 1920) ; *Die Münchner Tragoedie*, published by the Office of the Socialist organ, *Freiheit* ; *Aus Bayerns Schwersten Tagen*, by E. Müller-Meiningen (Berlin, 1923) ; *La Terreur en Bavière*, and *L'Allemagne après la Débâcle*, by Ambroise Got (Paris, 1922). In the first two books of this list is a full account of the various Decrees, Manifestoes, etc.

[2] December, 1922.

cruited. Now, Bavaria is a land of small farmers—there are very few large estates—with fully half its acreage in ploughland. Its inhabitants are orderly, industrious, gentle of character—contrasting with the peremptory Prussians—and, for the most part, practical Catholics.

In Munich, as in nearly all German towns, there was a Socialist majority; but it was not as advanced or as violent as in many towns of Prussia or of "the Red Kingdom," Saxony. If the bourgeois of Munich were wealthy, fond of social reunions and good cheer, artistic and music-loving, they were not, in their relations with the working-folk, either arrogant or exacting.

Spartakism at Munich was not a spontaneous outbreak, but the result of gradual growth, fostered by deliberate propaganda; one can discern clearly during the period between November, 1918, and March, 1919, how various circumstances, notably the premature disbandment of the army and the irresolute characters of the Ministers, enabled that propaganda to work with ever-increasing effect.

In Bavaria, as in Russia and Hungary, military defeat was of course the remote cause of the Bolshevik revolution, furnishing its prerequisite economic and psychological conditions. Broken, weary, suffering and hopeless, all Germany was a prey to the demoralising influences of the Russian revolution, not yet generally recognised for what it really was. No wonder the nation was allured by the new gospel of a social change promising a maximum of comfort with a minimum of toil. There was, besides, the hope that this gospel might avert the consequences of defeat; if the toiling masses of England and France could be roused to cast out their proud war-lords and selfish exploiters, all peoples might live in harmony.

Germany drove out her hereditary rulers in November, but this Revolution only brought fresh disappointment. Spite of Socialist promises, neither workers nor anyone else felt any relief. Quite the contrary; rations were reduced, munitions-works closed, factories working short

time, streets crowded with shivering and starving unemployed. Thus had despair broken the vigour of all classes, while alternations of despair and visionary hope had upset the mental balance and impaired the moral steadiness of multitudes among not merely the manual workers but the bourgeois as well.

To anyone at all familiar with the story of the Russian and Hungarian revolutions the question presents itself: was the Munich revolution, too, due in any measure to Jewish influence? In Munich there was certainly a large Jewish population, some 50,000; but there is no evidence that they favoured the Soviet experiment. Many of them must have deplored a ruined prosperity; a few of them we know to have been slain by the Bolsheviks. On the other hand, it is certain that nearly all the leading personages in all the stages of the Munich revolution were of Jewish race: Eissner, Toller, Marut, Jaffé, Simon, Landauer, Wadler, Levien, Leviné. In no case, however, were these men of Bavarian birth. They had all come from other parts of Germany, from Bohemia and Russia. Indeed, except for these Jewish leaders with their activity and boldness of speculation, their freedom from national prejudice and tradition, it may be doubted whether the Revolution in any part of Germany—not to speak of the Soviet Revolution in Munich—would have been possible. For Germans are by nature submissive to discipline, retentive of inherited custom and tradition; only when the framework of their collective life was smashed, and when individually they were distraught by suffering and despair, were they in mood to listen to the extravagances of the Russian and Jewish propagandists.

Bavaria was the first of the German States to overthrow her ruling house; Prussia, Saxony, Baden and the rest followed within a few days. It is not clear why Bavaria took the lead. The house of Wittelsbach was not unpopular. Bavaria had doubtless grown angry with Prussia; but this was no adequate reason for her throwing

over her own national dynasty. If, as was the case with the other States, she wished to throw on her rulers the blame for the war, this would explain why all parties acquiesced in the downfall of the King. But we are told expressly that this was not the cause of the Revolution: that it was primarily social and only secondarily political.

The man who tells us this is one who ought to know; for it was he, Kurt Eissner, who had planned the Revolution months in advance, and carried it through.

This man—Salomon Kuschovsky by his real name—was born in 1867 of Bohemian Jewish parents. While yet only 25 years old he became editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and in 1893 of the Socialist organ *Vorwärts*. He was one of the Socialist leaders who in January, 1916, opposed the voting of the war-credits and established the Independent Party. Expelled from his editorial chair of the *Vorwärts* he came in 1917 to Munich as editor of the *Münchner Post*. His chief energies were now devoted to agitation for a Bavarian separate peace, and, above all, to preparing for a Revolution, organising Soviets[1] on the Russian model, holding secret meetings, spreading pamphlets, etc. He continued at this work till January, 1918, when he acted in Munich as leader of the General Strike organised by the Independents, and on its failure was cast into prison. His work was, however, already far advanced; he had solidly organised many Soviets, chiefly among the workmen (mostly Prussians and Westphalians) of the Krupp munition-works lately established

[1] These *Betriebsräte* were in theory, but not at all in practice, the same as the *Betriebsräte* which the German National Assembly in February, 1920, instituted as integral constituents of the Constitution. The latter consist of the employees of large establishments (or groups of small ones) assembling in prescribed form and duly electing representatives, who exercise certain rights of control over the management, and, in union with other similarly elected men, form Superior Councils. The Bavarian *Betriebsräte* (as the Hungarian and Russian Councils) were always formed arbitrarily, and their representatives in the Superior Councils, Congresses, etc., were often not elected at all, but were self-appointed or nominated by the Socialist organisations. They were often called "Soviets," which name for clearness sake I shall employ.

in Munich. His Independent friends kept developing these nuclei during the rest of the year.

Released shortly before the Versailles armistice he set himself at the head of an open agitation against the continuation of the war. On November 7 at a monster gathering on the *Theresienwiese* of some 60,000 men he proposed and carried resolutions demanding the abdication of the Kaiser, the recall of the army, immediate peace, etc. In describing the events of this day afterwards he said : " The people at the meeting had no idea of upsetting the monarchy. But we knew exactly what we wanted." That afternoon King Ludwig, out on his usual walk, was puzzled at seeing the huge crowd. He learned its meaning only when on his return the sentries at the Palace gates refused their salute and told him he was no longer King. Later in the evening a hastily formed *Rätekongress*[1] with Eissner as President met in the Hall of the Landtag and decreed the abolition of the monarchy. On hearing the news the King with his family hastily entered motors and left for ever the city where his race had ruled for seven hundred years.

Thus was inaugurated the Bavarian Republic. The *Rätekongress* appointed an interim Cabinet of eight members—three of them (including Eissner) Independents, the others Social-Democrats. One can infer from this that general working-class opinion, even in the organised Soviets, had not yet advanced very far in the Russian direction.

It is a significant fact that on the very day after the proclamation of the Republic we find rushing down to Munich from all parts of the Empire those sinister figures which will come forth to play their ghastly parts in *die Münchner Tragoedie* of March and April : Toller, restless, neuropathic, Byronic, poet and orator of International Peace ; Neurath, ex-Professor at Vienna, " expert " in socialisation, on which subject he has written many

[1] Congress of Councils (*i.e.*, Councils of Soldiers, Peasants and Workmen).

delirious articles; Ret Marut, pre-war novelist, now Bolshevik and inventor of an original plan for the socialisation of the Press; Jaffé, a Hamburg merchant, now crowned with the *gloriole* of having been the first to call for the Kaiser's abdication; Muhsam, "original thinker" (one of his thoughts was that Marx was the greatest idiot in all history), whose social nostrum was a blend of Bolshevism and Anarchism; Dr. Lipp, alternately inmate of a mad-house and spy of the Berlin Foreign Office, lately turned Bolshevik apostle; Landauer, bohemian, novelist, philosophic anarchist, several times in prison for lionising common murderers; Axelrod, Levien and (a little later) Leviné, Russians and fanatic Bolsheviks of the cruellest type, the two first being accredited agents of Lenin. Among all these men there was no representative of the working-class. All were men of education; Toller is to-day one of Germany's greatest dramatists.

It is hardly possible to explain this sudden gathering of Bolshevik leaders in Munich, except on the assumption that their organisation throughout Germany received an intimation that a Sovietist development was thought more feasible there than elsewhere. Perhaps Eissner had a secret alliance with the extremists; perhaps his ministers were seen to be easily frightened and pushed; perhaps—and this seems exceedingly probable—it was thought that the separatist spirit of Bavaria would render less likely the intervention of Noske whose heavy hand had lately been felt at Kiel.

On their arrival some of these men—Toller, Jaffé, Neurath—were given posts by Eissner; Levien and Axelrod, though not befriended by him, were allowed to organise their Spartakists.

Eissner's government undertook no revolutionary changes. To all outward appearance his chief concern was with the question of peace and with the drawing up of the new Constitution.

With regard to peace his position was that the German

people were guilty of the war, though only in a secondary way, inasmuch as they had allowed themselves to be drawn into it by their rulers; they should therefore acknowledge their fault and make full reparations for it; the Social-Democrats (of whom he had five in his Cabinet!) had been guilty of treachery to the German people by abetting the war-ambitions of the Junkers; Bavaria, being now separate from Prussia, could, by offering to make a separate peace, force her to a reasonable attitude. In pursuance of this policy he published the von Schön correspondence and refused (November 29) to sit with the German peace delegates. Several times he tried—but in vain—to get an interview with Clemenceau, whom he felt sure he could win round to his views.

To show the Allies how sincere was his pacifism he completely demobilised the Bavarian army on its return from the front in December. This step was fatal for Munich. While at the front the Bavarian troops, though sulking against the Prussians, were not much infected with Bolshevism. Now on their sudden disbandment multitudes of them remained on in Munich, where unemployed, half-starving and shivering they lent a ready ear to Spartakist propaganda.

In November and December Eissner and his Cabinet were elaborating their Constitution, which was promulgated on January 7. The Republic was to be an equal and independent member of the United States of Germany. Its legislature was to be a single chamber elected by universal, equal and proportional suffrage.

Seeing its author and its origin there is something mysterious about this Constitution. It was on a democratic basis, not a Soviet one. Yet, Eissner had got his power from the Soviets. He may have expected the elections to be more favourable to him than they proved to be—for he was capable of vast self-delusion—or he may never have meant the Constitution to be anything but a device for keeping the people quiet, while he was making

ready to establish a Soviet government of the Russian type. It is, at all events, quite certain from certain remarks of his at Berne, from statements of his friends, and from some incidents at Munich that—at least after the elections—he contemplated the overthrow of the new Constitution and the proclaiming of a Soviet Republic.

At the elections (January 19) for the German National Assembly he failed to secure a seat; but this blow was light compared to the one which befell him and his Party at the elections for his own Bavarian Landtag. Counting from the Right, the new Chamber was constituted as follows: German People's Party 28, National Liberals 7, Catholic Centre 55, Social-Democrats 50, Peasants' League 18, Independent Socialists only 4! On the day the results were announced he started to take part in the Berne International Socialist Congress (February 3–11).

While he was away a fierce struggle developed between the Cabinet, from which the elections had taken all representative character, and the *Rätekongress* which now, the Constitution being promulgated, had no legal standing.

Rosshaupter, War Minister, very anxious at the rapidly increasing strength of the Spartakists, issued a decree for the formation of a citizen-militia; but the *Rätekongress* orders him to cancel the decree[1] and to submit all future decrees for their approval. The *Rätekongress*, with which Eissner was now thought to be in collusion, was very unpopular, students and citizens holding noisy manifestations to denounce it, and all the newspapers, except the *Münchner Post*, refusing to publish its proceedings. Moreover, the members of the Cabinet, especially Auer, were now making use of Eissner's Gallophile speeches at Berne to discredit him.

Auer having (February 12) convoked the Landtag for the 21st, on the eve of its meeting all the Ministers (acting independently of Eissner) resign.

Eissner was now at bay. He had no chance of being

[1] He managed, however, finally to organise a kind of militia.

re-elected, and would have either to resign in disgrace or else (as the Ministers firmly expected) attempt a *coup d'état* against his own creation, the Landtag, now meeting with all the authority given it by the General Election.

How precisely he would have acted can never be known. While on his way through the streets to attend the opening of the House he was shot dead by Count Arco.

As the news spread, a terrible uproar pervaded the whole city. One of Eissner's henchmen rushed to the Palace, and from the door shot down Auer and two others. The Landtag dispersed in confusion.

There is as yet, however, no general manifestation of Spartakism. The *Zentralrat* (*i.e.*, of the *Rätekongress*) calls a general strike, urging the people to defend the Revolution against the reactionaries who had murdered the President. Though the *Rätekongress* (which continued in session) acknowledged the authority of the Landtag, the deputies were afraid to meet. This cowardice of the elected representatives of the people was undoubtedly responsible for the subsequent tragic happenings.

For ten days a state of simmering disorder continues ; innumerable meetings, processions, proclamations of the various Socialist Parties. The more conservative elements of the people were now mere onlookers. The Spartakists, growing daily in strength and cohesiveness, announced in a proclamation (March 1) that they were withdrawing their representatives from the *Zentralrat*, and were forming a Workers' Revolutionary Council (under Levien) to work for a Soviet Republic (*Räterepublik*).

Finally (March 4), the *Zentralrat* agrees on a Cabinet named from among the deputies to carry on the government till the Landtag should meet. This Cabinet in its union of Social-Democrats and Independents reflected the composition of the *Zentralrat*. The *Rätekongress* and its *Zentralrat* had, however, no notion of giving the new Cabinet a free hand. They both continued to sit and control it, the *Zentralrat* even assisting at its deliberations.

Thus Bavaria was being governed by two mutually suspicious bodies; indeed by three, for the *Rätekongress* under pressure from the extremists now appointed a Committee-of-Action in which Spartakists sat with the other two Parties, and which aimed at driving the *Zentralrat* to an extremist policy. All this time, of course, the exclusively Spartakist Revolutionary Council was undermining the authority of both *Zentralrat* and Ministry.

After unending discussions at Munich and a big Congress of all Parties at Nuremberg (March 4), a compromise was reached between the Social-Democrats (supported as *optimi malorum* by the Conservatives) and the Independents. A new Coalition Ministry with Hoffmann as President is named, and the Landtag summoned for March 17. It meets; but, shewing the same fatal cowardice as before, adjourns without doing anything except ratifying the Hoffmann Cabinet.

Things were now as bad as ever. The Cabinet, deliberating in presence of the *Zentralrat* (which in its turn was dictated to by the Committee-of-Action), and having at its disposal no coercive instrument but the unreliable militia, could do nothing towards re-establishing order. Perhaps it had not the will to do much; for its members, except Hoffmann, were hopelessly submissive to the truculent *Zentralrat*. One of them, Simon, projects the formation of a Red Guard! Another, Neurath, proposes a plan for socialising the Press; two others even spoke with favour of a *Räterepublik!*

The news of Bela Kun's *coup* at Budapest (March 20) gives fresh strength to the Spartakist agitation. Crazy tales are set afloat: Sovietism is spreading as wild-fire through Europe; Russian Red Guards are marching on Berlin; Saxony has established her Dictatorship of the Proletariat, etc. Many Soldiers' Soviets call for the *Räterepublik;* Gandorfer, head of the Peasants' League, also calls for it; even Niekisch, President of the *Rätekongress* and Cabinet Minister, declares it inevitable.

Hoffmann, the only staunch Social-Democrat of the Cabinet, flies secretly to Berlin where he describes the state of Munich to Scheidemann, and then comes back to Bamberg where the majority of the Landtag, many officers and other energetic spirits of the moderate parties were forming a nucleus of military resistance to the Munich pandemonium.

During the night of the 6th April a meeting composed of the *Zentralrat*, delegates from the Social-Democrat and Independent Parties, and—sign of progression!—the Revolutionary Council, is held at the War Office and draws up a list of People's Commissaries to form a Dictatorship of the Proletariat after the Russian model.

The next morning this—the longed-for *Räterepublik*—is proclaimed to the terrified city.

The new Government had a hard task before it. It was composed exclusively of Independents, and consequently Levien and his friends in public meetings and in their paper, the *Rote Fahne*, heaped on it the bitterest scorn as a mere counterfeit Soviet Republic.

Yet to the ordinary staid folk of Munich it was extreme enough in all conscience—extreme to the point of lunacy. Toller was President and Food Commissary. Each morning there appeared from his pen in the official paper poetic effusions telling of huge consignments of corn and fat pork coming in from France. Dr. Lipp, lately under treatment for megalomania, now Commissary for Foreign Affairs, telegraphs to Moscow that all Bavaria is now rejoicing in an abundance of food sent from Italy and Switzerland; and ends up: "We wish for eternal peace. Emmanuel Kant. 1795. *theses* 2–5. Fraternal Salutations." The next day he writes—and his letter is published in the official paper—"I have just declared war on Würtemberg for not sending us the sixty engines we asked for. We are sure of victory. I am asking the Pope for his blessing." Wadler, Commissary for Labour, starts to "socialise" the factories—which, of course,

immediately cease to produce anything. Paulukum, Commissary of Traffic, sets forth on a tour to enlighten the peasants on the happiness of the new Arcadia ; but, apparently not knowing where the Whites were gathering, is taken prisoner. Gesell, Commissary of Finance, does not believe in money, but in a return to the simple life preached by Rousseau. This aim is to be attained by an inflation of prices which will render money useless. On the 8th April all food in hotels and restaurants is "nationalised," as also all house-accommodation in the city. The government certainly intended to carry through its socialising schemes in an orderly way ; but inevitably multitudes of adventurous and acquisitive spirits spread through all quarters of the city lending their private initiative to help on this popular policy.

Such was the state of things from the 7th–12th April.

Meanwhile at Bamberg a White army was being concentrated. Scheidemann, Chancellor of the Prussian Republic, and Noske, who with his *Freikorps* had crushed Spartakism wherever it had dared to show itself in Prussia, had been watching with interest the trend of affairs at Munich since the early part of March. They were, however, in no hurry to intervene, not even when implored for help by Hoffmann in the beginning of April. It is easy to understand their reasons for delay. Bavaria had become very much dissatisfied with the overlordship of Prussia ; any premature interference might only increase that dissatisfaction. On the other hand, the longer she suffered under the Spartakist tyranny and the more she realised her helplessness to shake it off (it had become plain at Bamberg that reliable Bavarian troops could not be got in sufficient numbers, and all arms, etc., had been seized by the Munich government), the more completely would her Separatist tendency be cured. There was another reason too. Though the Prussians were not in collusion with the Munich Bolsheviks—the fury of the White Terror disposes of that possibility—they were

not at all sorry to see Munich set on fire by the Bolshevik torch. The danger of this terrible fire blazing through all Germany and crossing her borders might induce the Allies to mitigate their peace-terms.

The fire was now flaming bright in Munich. Nothing further was to be gained by delay, so Noske (April 10) dispatches the Prussian generals von Möhle and von Oven to relieve Munich.

In anticipation of this, one of the first acts of the *Räterepublik* had been to form (April 8) a Red Army. Recruiting was to be limited to members of Socialist organisations, unemployed men having first claim. Its soldiers were to have precedence in the distribution of food and to receive six marks a day. No uniform was to be worn, only a red armlet. " Iron discipline " was to be maintained, but this was to be the result of the soldiers electing their officers (except the highest commands).

At the end of a week an attempt was made to overthrow this Bedlamite government. Seyfürtitz, formerly a landscape-painter and lately appointed Commander of the Militia, becoming alarmed at the mad Saturnalia in full swing through the city, attacked (April 12) the Wittelsbach Palace and took the Commissaries prisoners. Posters the next morning announced the fall of the government, but the good news was premature. As the day advanced Red Guards, led by Levien and his Spartakist friends, gradually forced back the Militia till it was surrounded in the Luitpolds Gymnasium. Here, under threat of being blown up by mines, it surrendered.

Their power vastly increased by this success, Levien, Leviné and Axelrod now carried a resolution (April 13) at the *Rätekongress* declaring the downfall of the " mock Soviet Republic," and the establishment of a genuine one. A Committee-of-Action of 15 members was appointed, but the real power was to be exercised by an Executive Committee in which Levien, Leviné, and (after a few days) Axelrod, Ströbl and Egelhofer, Commander of the Red Guard, were the leading spirits.

Now at last the Bolshevik programme could be carried through in its integrity. There were to be no more pretences or half-measures. The deposed Commissaries, apparently repenting of their want of zeal, place their services at the disposal of their successors. A few of them are received into grace; Toller is even put in charge of the Red Guards now concentrating at Dachau.

The new régime is inaugurated by the proclamation of a General Strike "to display the people's power." Only one newspaper is allowed to exist, the *Rote Fahne*, distributed gratis in the streets. One of the first decrees signed by Egelhofer (April 13) ran: "All citizens are within 12 hours to deliver up their firearms at Headquarters. Any one failing to do so will be shot." This, of course, only referred to the Bourgeois, "the common enemy"; for another decree of the same day ordered all workmen to go to the offices of their local Soviets where arms would be delivered to them; they were to carry these arms at all hours. On the 14th another announcement ordering that "anyone guilty of word or act against the Executive Committee, its decrees or officials, will be tried before the Revolutionary Committee.[1]

As the peasants in the surrounding districts had now ceased to bring in any food, Red Guards were sent out to get it; but, in spite of fierce conflicts, they could get only a very inadequate amount. Meanwhile (April 14) a decree nationalised all food in shops and private houses. This of course entailed indiscriminate looting. The shops closed down, but the next day were ordered to keep open.

To get food from the country it was evident that money had to be procured. So Männer, Finance Minister, in a decree of April 17, urges all citizens to save up for their old age—they need have no scruple about this, he explains, as saving is not capitalism!—and to bring their savings

[1] This Committee was presided over by Kronauer, a Jew, who—fortunately for the hundreds of people brought before him—proved himself humane, ingenious and courageous. After some days, however, he was himself imprisoned.

to the banks. To encourage them in this virtuous practice the decree ordained that all persons found in possession of coined money or of bank-notes over a small amount would be brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. On the 21st he announces that all valuables stored in the banks were to be inventoried in presence of their owners. Word must have got out that this was coming; for only 20,000 marks' value was found in the storage-safes. The whole financial machinery of the city is "simplified." Each evening the Councils of the various factories, shops, theatres, cinemas, cafes, etc., were to bring the day's receipts to the banks (all banks are now converted into branches of the National Bank, *Volkshaus der Finanzen*); every Wednesday they were to declare at the bank the amount of wages required for the week; every Saturday they were to receive it for distribution. Under the head of "wages" an amount "adequate to their conditions of life" was to be given such owners of factories, etc., as had declared themselves satisfied with the Soviet system.

The reform of education begun by Toller's government is proceeded with. A special body is named (April 7) to overhaul the University, and in a few days has its plans ready. The Senate is to consist of one-third students, and two-thirds graduates, of whom only one may be a Professor. Secondary schools, too, are to be managed by Soviets of the students, who are exhorted in an official decree to lessen the number of obligatory subjects, to develop the taste for sports and artistic occupations, and to suppress all examinations.

While "freedom" was thus being established in the city the Prussians were advancing. Their concentration had been completed by the 16th. In spite of a brilliant victory won by the *stratégos* Toller—the occasion of a great procession through the streets—the Reds kept falling back till on the 26th Munich was closely hemmed in on all sides. All in vain were frantic appeals made to the "comrades"

to join the Reds in fighting the *Noskejünger* who were, of course, accused of the usual "atrocities."

By the 26th the whole working-class population, Soviets and all—all but a certain number of the Red Guards—had become heartily sick of their tyrants; and, as the noise of the fighting approached, got courage to protest against them. In defiance of the Executive Committee, a big meeting of the *Rätekongress* is held, in which the dictators, when they attempted to speak, were assailed with fierce cries of "Down with the *Judenbube*." Discomfited, they withdrew to the Luitpolds Gymnasium strongly held by the Red Guards. There was now no chance of their escape from the Whites except by seizing hostages. Accordingly, on the 26th and 27th lorries of Red Guards dash through the streets seizing any notabilities, men or women, that were known to them, and bringing them to the Gymnasium, the basement story of which was soon crowded with about a hundred prisoners. Another precautionary measure which they made sure to adopt was to sack the Prefecture of Police and to burn carefully in the courtyard all the criminal records, identification papers, etc.

Meanwhile the *Rätekongress* keeps on sitting, appoints on the 27th a new Executive Committee (with Toller as President); and when it declines to act, appoints another the next day. This, however, is still-born; Levien with his Reds enters the Hall, disperses the Congress, and declares its acts null and void.

Thus ended on the 28th the *Räterepublik;* Munich was now under a military dictatorship pure and simple. Egelhofer declares in the *Rote Fahne* (April 29) that he "will defend the revolutionary proletariat against all treachery—even on the part of the Soviets!"

While the fighting around the city is going on during the 29th and 30th, Levien, Leviné, Axelrod, Egelhofer. Seidl, and a few others of the fanatic leaders spend their time in the Gymnasium between orgies of various kinds

and visits to the cellars where they take a morbid delight in maltreating and threatening the hostages. In the afternoon—the fighting was now along the boulevards—eight of these poor people (Prince von Thurn und Taxis, Countess Westarp, Lieutenant von Teukert, Baron von Seidlitz, Professor Berger and three other men, Neuhaus, Deike and Daumenlang) are shot in cold blood. At half-past eleven in the night some White troops, making a dash for the Gymnasium, find it deserted !

The next morning (May 1) not a Red Guard was to be seen in Munich. Armlets had all been cast off. The leaders were in hiding or disguised. Vast crowds were out to welcome the entry of the delivering army.

Munich was not yet, however, at peace. The White Terror had replaced the Red. From the 2nd till the 8th May bands of the Noskejünger, for whom Spartakists were as vermin to be stamped to death, were busy searching, arresting, shooting—often on mere suspicion. Then at last came peace, though the State Trials continued till November. Levien, the reddest of all the Reds, escaped to Russia ; all the other leaders were slain or captured. Egelhofer, Landauer, Leviné, Seidl were executed ; Muhsam, Toller, Wadler, Axelrod, Ströbl, Gesell received long terms of imprisonment.

Into the political consequences of the Munich madness we need not enter, nor into the terribly severe economic consequences. One certainly good result has come of it : Bavaria is now strongly inoculated against Bolshevism, and all Germany more sternly on guard against it. Yet Spartakists may take courage once again ; of the two slaveries, slavery to German Lenins or slavery to French generals, Germany may one day easily prefer the former.

L. McKenna.

WILLIAM THOMAS MULVANY[1]

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J., M.A.

AS a result of recent political developments the fate and fortunes of the Ruhr have become an object of interest to readers of the press in all countries. The ordinary man now knows sufficient to identify the name with coal-mines, blast furnaces, giant factories and colossal dividends, and in a general way to realise that the Ruhr is one of the great industrial centres of the world. Seventy years ago the lands through which the narrow river passes were as far removed from the din and bustle of life as is the Connemara of our own days. The woodman wielded his axe, the ploughman whistled his way, and mud-walled cabins sheltered a scant population where now extensive cities abound, where countless chimneys weary the traveller's eye, and where millions of busy men find work and sustenance. Many perhaps in Ireland are unaware that in effecting this transformation a part of supreme importance was played by a gifted son of our own isle.

In the hope that one of our economists or engineers may be moved to make the career of this remarkable man the subject of an adequate biography, the main facts of his life are set forth in this article.

William Thomas Mulvany was born in Sandymount, Dublin, on March 11, 1806, as eldest son of Thomas James Mulvany, professor and director of the Royal Hibernian Academy. His mother's maiden name was Mary Field, and she was the daughter of a Dublin doctor. The elder Mulvany had been left an orphan at childhood and had been educated by one of the Catholic bishops. Despite Mulvany's success as a painter, it is to be feared that his lordship was not particularly proud of his charge. The

[1] *Cf. Veroffentlichungen des Archivs für Rheinisch-Westfälische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* Band VIII. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der rheinisch-westfälischen Grossindustrie . . . im 19 Jahrhundert, von Kurt Bloemers (Essen a. d. R. 1922).

funds at the artist's disposal were small and his family of seven was large, so that Mulvany was tempted to angle for a career for his boys by playing fast and loose with their religion. William Thomas was sent to a Protestant school, where at the age of sixteen he had imbibed sufficient of the world's wisdom to provide for the future by conforming to the Established faith. In due course he entered Trinity College as a medical student, but left it at the age of nineteen for a promising position in the Ordnance Survey.

Mulvany's advancement in the Civil Service was rapid. With General Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Colonel Sir Harry Jones, Mr. Stokes, Mr. Buck, and the other Englishmen then in large part responsible for the direction of our country's affairs, he managed to keep on excellent terms, so that he was soon Assistant Boundary Surveyor. At twenty-six he married Miss Alicia Winslow, daughter of a Catholic landlord at Cloghan, Co. Fermanagh. By 1834 he had taken out his diploma as a Civil Engineer, and had obtained a transfer from the Ordnance Survey to the Board of Works department. Next year he was at Limerick, regulating the course of the Shannon so as to make it fit for steam traffic and draining and protecting from overflow the land along its banks. The Shannon Navigation Act of 1839 was based to a considerable degree upon his reports, and under the Commission appointed to carry the Act into execution he had control of a large district as Chief Engineer. In the same year a paper on the proposed junction-canal between the Shannon and the Erne was published by him in Dublin, and the advantages of the scheme for trade and commerce emphasised.

In technical and economic questions Mulvany had now come to be considered an authority of the first rank. It was therefore no surprise when, in connection with the land improvement bills of 1842, he was appointed Commissioner for Drainage and Inspector of Fisheries at a

salary of £600 per annum. In virtue of this position he directed drainage works on the Brosna, in Leix, and on Lough Ennel, in Westmeath ; also on Lough Erne, Lough Neagh, and in the Counties Cavan, Fermanagh, Monaghan and Donegal. It was under his supervision, too, that the large canal docks at Ringsend and at Kilbeggan were built. As Inspector of Fisheries he devoted attention especially to the rivers. A new fishery bill, in which steps were taken to make the observance of the close season something more than a pious aspiration, was drawn up by himself and Burgoyne, and shortly afterwards became law. We have only to contrast the comparatively flourishing condition of the eel and salmon fishing on the Irish rivers from the middle of the last century onwards with the state of our sea fisheries during the same period to realise the success with which Mulvany's work was blessed.

Many of his measures were impeded by refusal to co-operate on the part of the very persons whom they were intended to benefit. Bitter experience had taught the Irish people that " improvements " were easily turned by their rulers into means for increasing their distress, and they were angrily suspicious of new economic schemes. Mulvany, in the long run, was able to prove his honesty and win a certain amount of their confidence. His attitude towards the submerged nine-tenths of his countrymen was, for one of his class and age, sympathetic enough. Any deep appreciation of Irish aspirations and struggles he certainly had not, but he had a genuine desire to increase the country's material well-being. The land across the water was, in his eyes, the kindly mother, and if on occasion he spoke frankly and sharply of her shameless neglect of maternal duty, he never dreamed of denying the relationship. For a high official in the Irish administration of those days his views on the whole might be regarded as liberal.

In 1845 Mulvany was Commissioner of Fisheries, and

in 1846 Commissioner of Public Works, at a salary of £1,000 a year. In accepting this appointment, he had abandoned his place in the permanent service and resigned himself to the chance of being left without office at the next change of government. His work during the next few years lay chiefly in extending the fisheries, regulating the course of the Bann, building a harbour at Portrush, and erecting bridges.

The state of destitution in which the mass of our people lived at this period need not be described to Irish readers. From 1815 onwards there had seldom been a year without a partial famine. With the appearance of the potato blight in 1845 the crisis came rapidly to a head. In the following year 50,000 families were driven mercilessly from their homes owing to failure to pay the rent. Yet another year and the number of those in danger of death from starvation had grown to millions. Food sufficient to feed twice the population was all this time being shipped to England, where the proceeds of its sale passed to the absentee landlords. O'Connell pleaded with dying voice to have this export stopped; but the ministry in London replied that to comply with this request would be to interfere with an economic law—a sin which, it was implied, would not be forgiven either in this world or in the next. So, within four years, a million of our people died of hunger, and another million fled from our shores to fill the slums of English cities or to become suffering toilers in the growing republic of the West.

As Commissioner of Works it was one of Mulvany's duties to supervise the provision made for relief of the poor. There is evidence, happily, that he performed this task conscientiously and did everything in his power to prevent the famine catastrophe. When the dread days of misery came he was amongst the ablest organisers of relief-works. Starting with the conviction that Ireland's progress depended primarily on agriculture, cattle-raising

and fisheries, he sought to have all the workers engaged by the State employed in advancing these industries. If roads were built from nowhere to nowhere, senseless monuments erected and canal beds dug into which a drop of water was never meant to flow, it was in direct opposition to his wishes. A scheme in which he took great interest was that of Drummond to have the projected railway-lines built by the public workers, and there is no doubt but that, if he were allowed his way, he would have had this carried through. In a word, responsibility for the mistakes and disasters of the famine period rests not with Mulvany but with his masters.

In 1852 a Tory ministry under Lord Derby came into power in England, and Mulvany lost his position as Commissioner. A temporary appointment came to an end in 1854, and in that year he retired definitely from the public service. In recognition of exceptional ability, energy, enterprise and spirit of sacrifice his pension was fixed at the unusually high sum of £667. Thus at the age of 46 he was free once again to embark on a new career.

Just at this time it happened that an Irishman who had come to take a prominent place in the development of Belgian industry, was on a visit to Dublin. This was Michael Corr, of Slane, Co. Meath, called in Belgian records Corr van der Maeren—the second name being that of the Flemish lady whom he had married at Brussels. Corr was a personal friend of Cobden, a protagonist of the Free Trade ideal on the Continent, a pioneer whose importance in the industrial history of Belgium is hardly second to that of James Cockerill. The purpose of his Irish visit was to interest investors in a scheme for the opening up of coal-fields at Gelsenkirchen in Westphalia. At the suggestion of two friends—a Mr. William Perry of Obelisk Park, Dublin, and a Mr. Malcolmson of Portlaw, Waterford—Corr endeavoured to induce Mulvany to take over the direction of the mines. The latter wished to

examine the ground for himself before accepting, so in July, 1854, he set out for Germany. The inspection proved satisfactory, and in 1855 he brought his whole family across from Ireland and settled down at Düsseldorf.

It is abundantly evident that Mulvany entered with joy upon his new activities. He was by nature of an individualistic and creative temperament, with great progressive plans and the firm conviction that they could and should be realised—dangerous qualities indeed in a Civil Servant. The experience, or perhaps better the disappointments, of 27 years' had taught him that in Ireland, with its unnatural government and the general economic backwardness of its people, nothing of consequence could be achieved within the span of life to which he could look forward. Hence he was happy when he had broken for ever with the past and became what nature had destined him to be, a man of enterprise.

Remarkable is the ease with which Mulvany became acclimatised to Westphalian conditions. In Ireland he had left a people welded by misfortune into unity, governed along absolute lines by a centralised external state. In Germany the semi-tribal tradition was still powerful, and there was no immediate prospect of either political or economic unity. Mulvany was wise enough to understand that this was the result of a historic process, and that the remedy most likely to succeed would allow patience and stage-by-stage progress in its working. As a foreigner he abstained on principle from any interference in German politics, devoting his time and labours wholly to the industrial development of the country.

Mulvany's aims were perfectly simple and clear. England had at that time a virtual monopoly of the coal and iron market in Germany as well as in the other European countries. To break this the Westphalian mines would be developed until native coal had ousted English from all the German states ; then an effort would be made to compete with England in the French, Dutch,

Scandinavian, and, perhaps, if all went well, in the more distant world-markets. As important as the production of coal was its transport from the pit-head to the place of consumption. Accordingly *pari passu* with the extension of the mines would go the regulation of the Rhine and smaller rivers, the digging of ship-canals, the building of great fleets of coal vessels for sea and river use, the erection or improvement of harbours, and finally the construction of an exceptionally fine and well-organised system of railways. The grandeur of this scheme alarmed contemporaries, for to contest English industrial supremacy, even within their own country, seemed to Germans of the period a Quixotic venture. Under the leadership of a man of Mulvany's ability, however, numbers were to be found ready to make the attempt. It may be thought that, in heading this serious movement against the interests of England, Mulvany was but reacting to some impulse dormant in his Irish blood ; but there is nothing to render such a view probable. He seems rather to have retained to the end of his days—and, indeed, transmitted to his family—an exaggerated respect for his old employers.

The first difficulty in forming a mining company was to get together sufficient capital, for Germany was then poor and had little to give. Only a few mines were as yet being worked, and such names as " Sporting Chance," " Courting Trouble," " Fear and Trembling " show clearly the nervousness with which the industry was regarded by investors. The necessary money was subscribed by three members of the Malcolmson and two members of the Perry family, as well as by Corr and Mulvany, so that the company was a purely Irish undertaking. Three concessions were united under the name " Hibernia," and on St. Patrick's Day, 1856, in the presence of the founder and all the shareholders, the mine was officially opened. The others left for their homes in Ireland shortly afterwards leaving Mulvany in complete charge. The annual meetings

were held as a rule in Dublin or London, so that Mulvany practically controlled the mines as if he were sole proprietor.

His position at this time was not exactly enviable. First of all the future was uncertain, the risk was heavy, and if anything went wrong the whole fault would be laid to his door. Negotiation with authorities in the Fatherland is seldom a pleasure, and here there were two groups of officials to be appeased, one at Dortmund and the other at Berlin. In addition there were the neighbouring companies, the landlords and the peasants, each group with its own claims, and all these had to be met by a man ignorant of German and consequently dependent on interpreters. The qualities on which Mulvany could rely were his experience in handling men, his advantage as by far the ablest engineer in the Ruhr and his close acquaintance with the English mines, where the technical arrangements were then superior to anything known in Germany.

There can be no doubt of his optimism when he is seen in March, 1857, founding another company. The shareholders were the same as for "Hibernia" except that another Irishman Mr. Patrick Rooney, then managing a railway in London, was added. The five coalfields (later six) which formed the new concession were given the name of "Shamrock" and were placed under Mulvany's direction. To relieve himself of a share of his burden he brought across his younger brother, Thomas John, at that time a Commissioner of Public Works in Ireland, and made him director of the two companies. When Thomas Robert, Mulvany's only son, had reached the age of 16, he was sent down as a labourer into the mines, as his father preferred a practical to a theoretical system of education.

It is not our purpose to follow in detail the history of the Shamrock and Hibernia companies; enough is said when it is stated that the mines were taken as models of

progress and efficiency in the whole Ruhr, and their organisation was imitated by all anxious to keep abreast of the times. Mulvany was admired and respected as the first authority on mining in the great Westphalian coal-area. Before his death the number of workers in the mines had grown to thousands, and the yearly production had reached many millions of tons, whilst Gelsenkirchen and Herne, villages of some 600 souls at his arrival, had developed into stately cities. The names Hibernia and Shamrock not only survive, but retain their place of honour in Ruhr industry and thus contribute to keep Mulvany's memory green in his adopted country.

In 1866 we find him director and chief shareholder of yet another mining company, to which he had given the name of "Erin." This comprised five concessions and covered a territory of over 2,500 acres. Owing to the lean years in the coal and iron industry following on 1873 and the unwillingness of the Irish investors to risk the large sums necessary if the mines were to be set in proper working order, the enterprise was never much of a success, and in 1877 it was disposed of to a company of great German capitalists. In the following year Mulvany's brother Thomas severed his connection with the Ruhr and emigrated to New Zealand, where at Bay View, Kati-Kati, he died in 1892.

Equally important with the production of coal was the finding of suitable markets for its sale. A careful study of the whole situation had led Mulvany to the conclusion that the one hope for Westphalian industry lay in expelling English coal from Holland and Germany. In many addresses and pamphlets he pleaded eloquently for this view, showing at the same time the means by which the proposed expulsion could be effected. The chief difficulty was, he believed, transport; hence the first need was extension of traffic on the Rhine, with all that this entailed—regulation of the stream, dredging, building of harbours, canal connections with other rivers,

the supply of an adequate fleet of steamers. No less necessary was the creation of a first-class railway system, so that coal could be carried at minimum cost direct from the pit-head to the inland towns of Germany and neighbouring countries. When so much had been won, the effort should be made by means of consuls and representatives abroad to secure a place in oversea markets; for Mulvany was one of the first to realise that Germany would in time be able to capture a considerable part of the world's trade. To further these aims the industrial pioneers banded themselves into two groups—the Dortmund "Mining Society" and the "Society for the preservation of common economic interests in Westphalia and the Rhineland." Mulvany was the life and soul of each. The second society particularly, under his chairmanship, was destined to achieve remarkable success. Within a few years German coal was pouring in thousands of tons into the North Sea and Baltic harbours, into Holland, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Austria and the inland German cities, regular consignments were being sent to Italy and Russia, whilst shortly before his death Mulvany was engaged in working out magnificent schemes for the capture of the American and Chinese markets.

In Ireland Mulvany had been a convinced Free Trader, but after some years in Germany he became a convert to the opposite view. Not content with his own conversion he sought to convert the Government too, and was disappointed when that body failed to show the least enthusiasm for his preaching. On the contrary it kept the enterprises he managed burthened with a heavy mining tax up to his death, and for ten years afterwards.

As a director of the "German Iron and Steel Industrialists Society" Mulvany was able to help very effectively the general development of the country. By 1875 England's influence in the German steel market was irretrievably lost, a fact due in large degree to his expert leadership.

For the energy, perseverance, skill and sense of discipline of the German workers Mulvany had the greatest

admiration. Of our own workmen in Ireland he spoke in no complimentary terms; indeed he seems to have been convinced that, unless some radical change took place in their outlook and conduct, none but the unwise would invest in Irish undertakings. In dealing with his men—and in Ireland he had as many as 25,000 under his charge—he showed a sense of responsibility unusual in his day. His ideal was admittedly to raise the workers from the miserable state in which they then were to a condition more in keeping with their nature as intellectual beings and more worthy of their high eternal destiny. In the Irish business-men with whom he came in contact he had to deplore a tendency to intrigue and crooked ways, ill qualities which it is to be hoped have disappeared with the evil times of subjection and slavery.

The growth of the mines proceeded at a pace altogether out of proportion to the growth of the railways, so that the question of transport soon caused cruel worries. Germany was covered with tiny railway companies, each with its own small corner to exploit, with a greedy appetite for profits and with the minimum regard for the general well-being. The only point on which all were agreed was in keeping prices up. Mulvany represented that a very low rate would lead to enormous traffic, which again would lead to enormous receipts, and thus in the end bring the companies better dividends than they were then earning. It was impossible to get the railway directors to see the logic of this argument. Mulvany soon perceived that the only remedy was state monopoly, and he worked with all his powers in this direction. It is interesting to note that his chief supporter in the campaign was another Irishman named Perrot, who had settled down at Rostock. In 1879 their labours ended in success and, better still, results proved what they had correctly prophesied. A small and uniform tariff was introduced by the State, arrangements were made with Holland, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland for so-called " contract " trains direct from the mines to these countries,

and in general such changes were introduced as benefited at one and the same time the coal and railway companies.

Mulvany had no inordinate love for canals, but he believed that they had their place in a well organised industrial system, and were by nature languid sisters rather than enemies of the railways. The opening of a number of ship canals had his unqualified support. These came in especially useful when new and better ships—the first, as a matter of fact, built according to Mulvany's plan and bearing his name—introduced a new era of prosperous traffic on the Rhine. Before he died he had also the satisfaction of seeing a regular sea connection between Cologne and London. This he had time and again urged, but it could only become possible when the river bed had been improved at various points.

Düsseldorf, where he first took up residence on leaving Ireland, became in a real sense Mulvany's second home, and his interest in its growth was intense. It is largely owing to his care that the city became one of the most beautiful on the Lower Rhine. An Irishman named James Toole, whom he had brought across at the original migration, and whose kindly ways won lasting favour in the whole mining district, contributed to the liveliness of the place by introducing horse-races. How important Düsseldorf soon became may be judged from the fact that in 1880 as many as 233 trains passed through the main station daily.

The Silver Jubilee of Mulvany's coming to Germany was celebrated on St. Patrick's Day, 1880, with great splendour. Very naturally the impulse came from the two great societies of which he was the head. Innumerable presents were offered and accepted, many toasts drunk, many speeches delivered. Mulvany's courageous pioneer work, his intellectual strength, clear reason, tenacity of character, frankness and openness in public and private life, were duly celebrated. Honours of all kinds, including a gold medal from the Prussian King and the freedom of cities, were heaped upon him.

More than forty years have passed since that St. Patrick's Day, and his place in the development of German industry can now be more exactly estimated. That it was great is clear from what has already been said. When we compare him with the other great men of his period, his companions and to some extent his rivals, we see that his position may be summed up broadly in the title "Director General of German Industry." Matthias Stinnes, grandfather of Hugo of contemporary fame, was essentially a coal-miner; so was Emil Kirdorf; Alfred Krupp was a manufacturer in steel; August Thyssen was an iron-smelter. Each of these had the genius to extend his business until it reached colossal proportions, but it remained at all times his business, and its limits formed the horizon by which his view was bounded. Not so Mulvany, whose interest in a private business of any kind was always secondary, and whose whole mind was set on furthering industry as a whole. A glance through the 27 pamphlets published in German between the years 1860 and 1885 and dealing with almost every subject which economists of the day were discussing affords ample confirmation of this view. His success and his decisive feat in making Germany one of the mightiest industrial nations of the world are admitted. The man capable of such an achievement does not deserve to be altogether forgotten in the land that gave him birth.

Mulvany died in Düsseldorf on October 30, 1885. His son, Thomas Robert, became English Consul General in that city and died there in 1907. A daughter, the last surviving member of the family, passed away in 1917. Arrangements were made by many old friends to have a fine monument placed over Mulvany's grave, but this was forbidden by the children, who evidently intended at the time to have their father's remains brought to Ireland. The idea seems later to have been abandoned, and Mulvany's bones still rest in the land of his adoption.

JOHN RYAN.

ITALIAN CATHOLICS AND INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION

BY CHARLES F. RONAYNE, O.C.C., M.A., D.D.

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AN article in the preceding number of STUDIES,[1] considering the present phase of the economic problem, sought to expound the dominant notion of Italian Co-operativism, the notion that Capital and Labour must ultimately be realised in one and the same set of persons if any really satisfactory solution of the modern economic difficulty is to be attained. It is now proposed to give some details as to the manner in which this co-operativist principle has worked in industrial practice.

It is not without interest to remark, by way of prelude, that industrial co-operativism in something like its modern form was suggested just sixty years ago by Bishop Ketteler; in his book *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum*, published in 1864, he pointed to associations of producers as the true solution of the Social Question.[2] The promising results of the post-war efforts in Italy to put the principle into practice contain many lessons for Ireland, for apparently the Irish Industrial Co-operative Movement has not yet begun. So far as we know, there are at present only three nominally co-operative societies in Irish industry; and none of the three seems to realise the idea of industrial co-operation as it is being realised in Italy. The knitting industry organised in connection with the Templecrone Co-operative Society in Donegal seems to be co-operative only in the sense that it is owned and managed by the co-operative society, for the workers as such have no direct or indirect control of the business. The Building Guilds, organised nearly two years ago on

[1] *Italian Catholics and the Economic Problem.* STUDIES, March, 1923. Pp. 106–119.

[2] The same thought is be found in the works of John Stuart Mill, Mazzini, Lassalle and several others who have studied the Social Question.

what is known as the Glasgow model, appear to contain something of the elements of the co-operative idea; but they can scarcely be called co-operative in the strict sense of the term, for not only is the actual working of the Guild not co-operative but, on a system of trade-union association where each union appoints one man to hold a share for a year but may recall him at any time and appoint another in his place, there can be no permanency of personal ownership. Finally, there is the Co-operative Clothing Manufacturing Society, Ltd. It was founded in Dublin, in September, 1919, by a group of trade unionists and co-operators who were anxious to make an experiment in co-operative production in industry. The workers have the management of the Society to some extent in their own hands. However, only a proportion of the workers have invested their own money, and their share-holding is but a small part of the total paid-up capital; 5 per cent. of their wages is periodically credited to them in the form of shares, and the amount of their holdings increases with the length of their employment. Looking at the experiment from the Italian standpoint, the germ of the co-operative idea would seem to have been considered by those who organised this very laudable effort in productive industry, but it would be scarcely true to claim that it is a genuine co-operative productive society; perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it does not conform to the Italian model.

To understand the essentials of the industrial side of Italian co-operativism, it is necessary to remember that there are three human factors necessary to the efficiency of productive industry. These three are:—

(*a*) The *imprenditore*; the individual on whom devolves the supreme management of a business or the supreme management of any special department of it. The Italians call such a man by the name of *imprenditore*, or *organizzatore*, or simply *direttore*.

(*b*) The *tecnici*; there is no generic word in English to correspond exactly with this expression, but it will be sufficiently understood if it be said to include buyers, salesmen, accountants, bookkeepers, secretaries, clerks, sub-managers and skilled overseers.

(*c*) The *operai*; these are the workers properly so called.

It is to be remarked that the man who is actually the manager of the business (l'imprenditore) puts human energy and human brains into the due discharge of the directive functions allotted him. Hence he is to be clearly distinguished from the capitalist as such, who contributes only his money. Sometimes the capitalist manages his own business and becomes to some extent an *imprenditore*. Now the democratisation of industry implies the ultimate disappearance of the absentee capitalist, and only in so far as the holder of money contributes human energy and human skill to a business enterprise is he to have any *locus standi* in a properly organised industrial system. This, of course, is but an ideal at present; but in a very practical way the capitalist regime is being undermined by Italian co-operativism, the dominant aim of which is to realise Capital and Labour in the same persons. In this regard it is well to point out that the Christian co-operativist in Italy is not so utterly foolish as to imagine the democratisation of industry as involving the transformation of a business concern into a sort of industrial debating society where speeches are to be made and votes taken on questions brought before the workers; it was this policy of dementia that was mainly responsible for the collapse of the Bolshevist industrial movement of 1917, and for the failure of the Italian Socialist revolution of 1920. Learning from those two great failures, the worker in Italy to-day realises that both directors and *tecnici* are necessary for the success of any business which is to be conducted on anything like a large scale. In co-operativist practice the workers become employers,

and the *tecnici* as well as the director become the employed.

The primary unit (*l'Ente morale*) in the system is what is known as a *Co-operativa*, the duly formed society constituted and registered according to law. A number of such societies may amalgamate under certain conditions to form what is called a *Consorzio*; this new body consists generally of all the co-operative societies within the limits of a province or a region. In Ireland, for example, the Irish analogue of the *Consorzio* would be a federation of the societies of a county. Finally, the various provincial or regional associations amalgamate to constitute a national *Unione*. As regards the industrial side of Christian Co-operation in Italy, this national body is the *Unione Nazionale delle Co-operative di Produzione e Lavoro*, having its chief offices in Milan and in Rome. It is to be noted that the two terms co-operative labour and co-operative production, although sometimes used together, have not quite the same meaning. The former implies an association of workers co-operatively undertaking to carry out a definite contract for an employer or for a contractor, who is responsible for the raw material and for some, if not all, of the mechanical appliances used; there seems to be something of this sort of co-operation in the contracts made by the Dublin Building Guild. The latter implies that the workers themselves co-operatively own the immediate means of production.

Ten workers of any one trade or special line of work are sufficient to form a society. Each worker must provide the price of at least one share, the minimum cost of which is fixed by statute[1] at 100 lire; wherefore the minimum initial capital is 1,000 lire. The members in general assembly elect from among themselves a definite number to form the Administrative Council of the *Co-operativa*. Each member of this council holds office for a

[1] Where the word *statute* is employed in regard to these societies, reference is being made to the regulations of the central Unions; these regulations are approved by the laws of the country. Where the word *law* is used reference is being made to the legislation contained in the Codice Commerciale of Italy.

period of two years. After the first year an arrangement is made by lot, in virtue of which one-half of the councillors retire each year. This administrative body is invested by the law with full powers of governing the society except on such matters as are constitutionally reserved to the general body of the members, the *assemblea generale*. This general assembly must meet at least once per year, within three months from the auditing of the previous year's balance sheet. The council meets regularly every fortnight. The officials of the council are the president and the vice-president, elected from among the councillors annually; there is also a secretary, who need not necessarily be a member of the society. The council employs the managing director and the *tecnici*, who are salaried officials of the society and who advise the council on matters of business. In addition to the council there is a triumvirate (*Probiviri*), elected from among the members at the annual general meeting and forming a court of appeal in all cases of internal dispute. There is also a board (*Sindaci*) of three inspectors, who need not belong to the society and who are chiefly concerned with financial matters; they are elected yearly. There may possibly be contracts on which the society, on account of its own numerical insufficiency, is compelled to employ labour; in such a case the Statutes urge that the employees (*ausiliari*) be invited to become members of the society. Another important point, settled by legislation, is that the managing director of a co-operative society must never be a member of the society by which he is employed; he may, however, accept a special bonus for work done or a fixed percentage of the annual profits made.

The work of organising the forces of industry on these principles has necessarily begun in a very small way, but has grown sometimes gradually and sometimes with surprising swiftness. As a general rule the Italian worker does not immediately accept the notion of vast co-operative

companies having commercial relations with subsidiary associations throughout the country. Necessarily, therefore, industrial co-operativism begins among a few workers and grows in a twofold direction, that is to say, both from without and from within; owing mainly to the principle urging the absorption of *ausiliari* it grows from without by a process which the biologist would doubtless call accretion, and it grows from within by a more and more scientific co-ordination of its various activities. An example perhaps will illustrate more clearly the process of development.

In the beginning of April, 1919, a group of carpenters in a little country town (Lissone) in the North of Italy embarked upon a commercial career as workers and producers on the co-operative system.[1] After a couple of months they were joined by other carpenters and members of kindred trades from the adjoining villages of Cantu, Meda, and Seveso, thus establishing four distinct centres of co-operative carpentry with four separate workshops. The venture prospered from the very beginning. At the end of the year 1919, after but eight months, the four little societies became the Co-operativa della Brianza, with a co-operative capital of 37,000 lire and an associate roll of 350 tradesmen; after another year this number had risen to 750 and the amount of the capital co-operatively owned had increased to 170,000 lire.[2] During that first period of growth four large workshops were built to cope with the orders called for, four showrooms were opened in the towns mentioned, and agencies were established in ten of the larger cities of Italy, including Naples, Genoa, and Milan.

The history of the internal development of this success-

[1] The little society was really founded as far back as June, 1915, but it did not start on its commercial career till all the members had returned from the war.

[2] When the exchange is at par 25 lire make one pound sterling. In 1921 the Italian exchange varied from 70 to 108 lire to the pound. Last year the variation was from about 82 in the summer months to 118 in the week of the Fascist revolution.

ful experiment in co-operativism contains more than one important lesson for anyone who desires to understand how the system already described works in practice. The primary unit in this particular instance was *one* co-operative society, which, however, was soon able to establish three branches of the society in three other towns. To avoid the salary-phenomenon and to realise the co-operativist notion of the union of Capital and Labour in one and the same set of persons, the carpenters and other tradesmen engaged in the branch establishments were not employed at fixed salaries by the Lissone society, but were formally absorbed into the movement, taking rank as associates and being thenceforth responsible for the working of their own particular co-operative units. In the process of the industrial growth of the four societies the workers were daily learning by force of economic circumstance that the administration of a business is likely to be a complex thing. Wherefore, when they formed the federated Co-operativa della Brianza, three lines of differentiation soon became very marked. The process of industrial evolution emphasised the following :—

(*a*) The purchase of the raw material. This obviously could not be left to chance or be carried out in any haphazard way ; it demanded a special ability differing from the technical skill of the carpenter. Hence arose the buyers, men with sufficient technical training to understand the nature of the raw material required and with sufficient shrewdness not to make bad bargains.

(*b*) The actual work of carpentry. This was carried out in the four workshops, each one of which was governed by an administrative council on the lines described, by a board of overseers who were chosen either from among the members of the society or from outsiders, while the actual management was in the hands of

the *direttore tecnico*, who was debarred by legislation from being a member of the co-operative organisation.

(*c*) The sale of the finished article. This branch of the business was also seen to call for special ability. There would have been little difficulty in finding merchants in the various cities ready and willing to sell at a fair profit the manufactured goods; but, loyal to their co-operative principle, the producers preferred to deal directly with the consumers. With that end in view they opened their own shops, at first in a very small way, in several of the cities and towns of Italy. To-day, with headquarters in Milan and showrooms in Nice and Cannes, besides establishments in more than a score of Italian cities, the society is still carrying on its good work.

Several such examples could be given from the many co-operative societies of labour and production scattered up and down the North of Italy. Sometimes such societies spring up suddenly, as in the case of the builders of the Veneto region or the little union of painters and decorators in the city of Pavia. In the former instance the building trades organised themselves on a co-operative basis in the first months after the Armistice. In little more than one year the venture had grown to the extent of having nearly 40,000 members representative of 292 societies which had been founded in the cities of Belluna, Padua, Udine, Rovigo, Venice, Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso; the *Consorzio* of Treviso was the largest, having 10,450 members from 97 co-operative societies. In regard to the Pavia case, a few returned soldiers, engaged in the painting and decorating trade, formed a co-operative society in their native city in May, 1920; the little association has carried out some important contracts and is still paying its way. Sometimes, however, the co-

operative societies are organisations with a relatively long history, and have helped directly in the after-war developments of the co-operative scheme. Such a society is that of the carpenters and kindred tradesmen of the town of Castiglione di Adda. Founded thirteen years ago, it took part in the Rome Exhibition of 1912, and was awarded a gold medal and a special diploma for the quality of its work. Its latest balance-sheet (1921) shows a working capital of 60,000 lire, with a reserve fund of 24,000 lire.[1] After the war the members of this society were instrumental in promoting the federation of all the Catholic co-operative societies of labour or production in the Milan province. This federation, the *Consorzio Provinciale Co-operativo di Produzione e Lavoro di Milano*, was legally organised in November 1920 and the president of the Castiglione society became the first chairman.

A few days after its registration this Consorzio of Milan was granted in open competition a very important contract. The contract referred to was for the construction of a three miles' section of the canal that is being made from the river Po to the city of Milan, a commercial project which aims at providing means of river transport for merchandise between Milan and the sea. The execution of this work has involved the purchase of special machinery and the building of a depot or headquarters. Those headquarters consist of a set of offices for the managerial staff, living houses for the workers, sheds for the machines, and all the other more or less permanent erections necessary for the due fulfilment of the contract. The actual work on the canal itself was begun on October 28, 1921, when up to 160 men were engaged on various parts of the undertaking.[2] The excavations are still

[1] At the time of the preparation of this article the financial returns for last year have not yet been filed. The general meetings in the various societies do not usually take place till the end of February, and the balance-sheets are not available at the central offices till April or May. This explains why the writer refers to the returns of 1921 rather than to those of last year.

[2] Quirino Cernuschi, in the weekly organ *Cooperazione*, in its issue for January 13, 1922.

proceeding and will provide work for the members of the Consorzio for some five or six years. Some of the capital necessary to finance the work seems to have been furnished by the banks at special rates of interest. This is utterly at variance with the ideal of Italian co-operativism. But it has been found that under present economic conditions recourse must be sometimes made to outside sources of capital in cases of large contracts. It is hoped that with the development of its own banking system the day will come when the present financial anomaly will have disappeared. The ideal, of course, is that the movement should be economically self-dependent (selbstständig). In this regard it is rather instructive to note that the democratisation of credit has already been attempted, and the continued success of the *Banca del Lavoro e della Co-operazione*, floated three years ago with a capital of 3,000,000 lire, has marked a great advance in that direction. The balance-sheet for the operations of this bank in 1921, approved at the annual meeting held in Rome at the end of March last year, shows that in the course of the year's business the bank was able to advance in loans to co-operative societies of production and labour the sum of 48,259,010 lire.[1]

A few figures regarding the Milan Consorzio may help the reader to understand something of its method of working. According to the official returns for 1921 the manual workers include 106 bricklayers, 36 carpenters, 34 workmen of other allied trades, and 120 ordinary labourers; the whole making a total of 296 workingmen. Some of the labourers are *ausiliari* and do not belong to the

[1] The main branches of the Bank are at Milan, Rome, Turin, Padua, Naples, and Catania. There are smaller branches at Bergamo, Como, Cremona, and Varese, and there are agencies at Magenta and Salerno. The total receipts for the year were 535,620,313 lire, and the total disbursements amounted to 533,203,601 lire. The report complains of active opposition on the part of one set of Italian financiers, but in very courteous terms acknowledges help received from several leading banking establishments. Besides advancing loans to industrial co-operative societies, the Bank also helped agricultural organisation and subsidised co-operative stores, lending a sum of eleven million lire in each case.

Consorzio; but this is exceptional rather than otherwise.[1] The industrial control is vested in the hands of a salaried expert, who is in this case a civil engineer; this official fills the role of the *direttore*. As already explained, he is not permitted by law to belong to the Consorzio. The *tecnici* are four other salaried officials, discharging various functions in connection with the commercial side of the activities of the association; besides these four officials there are also a master-mason with four qualified assistants, and there are two officials who appear to discharge the functions of clerk-of-works.[2] The men work on the system of piecework, a system which, by the way, is almost general among co-operative societies in Italy. Should a man prove to be an idler, the *direttore* formally reports him to the president; he may be expelled from the organisation by a decree of the administrative council, due compensation, however, being made to him in regard to his financial interest in the society.

Another such organisation, with, however, special difficulties of its own, is the *Consorzio Italiano Co-operative Pescatori*,[3] the national co-operative association of the

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[1] In the Statutes for Provincial Consorzi, article 50 reads as follows: "In the execution of contracts for which the Consorzio is responsible those engaged on the works shall be members of the co-operative societies composing the Consorzio. In exceptional cases it may be permitted to employ auxiliary-workmen, who shall be chosen from the members of other co-operative societies; the number of externs so employed shall in no case exceed the number of auxiliary-workmen employed from the sister societies of the Consorzio; these regulations may be suspended if it transpire, in the course of the execution of a contract, that by reason of causes which could not have been foreseen at the time of making the contract the employment of a larger number of workers is necessary."

[2] The tecnici are all salaried officials.

[3] This is now affiliated to the central Unione Nazionale delle Co-operative di Produzione e Lavoro; this in turn is amalgamated with the Confederazione Co-operativa Italiana, which is the union of all the Catholic co-operative activities in Italy. This Italian Union is affiliated with the White Confederazione Internazionale established at Zurich two years ago. One of the most active spirits in this great international movement of Catholic co-operativists is Canon Jung, of San Gallo, in Switzerland. At the last annual Congress delegates were present from Italy, Belgium, Holland, France, Switzerland, Hungary, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, Poland, Germany, Lithuania, Spain, and Uruguay. Italian Co-operativism is the really vital force in this great Catholic movement.

fishermen of Italy, which was legally registered in Rome on March 5, 1921. It has been organised as a result of a congress of Italian fishermen held in Naples two years ago. Two of the leading men in the work of organisation were priests, Rev. Don Sciocchetti and Rev. Dr. Quinci. The latter is no stranger to the work of co-operativism. Eleven years ago he successfully organised a Fishers' Co-operative Society in the town of Mazaro del Vallo, a small port in the province of Trapani, in the south-west of Sicily. Economic stress due to the after-war condition of Italy has caused the little society no small hardship; but it still clings to life in spite of what looks almost like failure. From the most recent official statement[1] issued in its regard we find that its activities include the following :—

(*a*) A co-operative store for the sale not only of technical implements but also of foodstuffs. For four years, from 1911 to 1915, the store prospered greatly. Through the years of the War it continued its co-operative work with difficulty. It still exists.

(*b*) Direct marketing and rapid transport of the fish. This project includes the preservation of the fish in salt or in oil.

(*c*) The purchase of one or more motor-boats. One such venture has proved unsatisfactory.

(*d*) The establishment of a Mutual Benefit Society; this society, though not very rich, is yet solvent. An evening school for illiterates has also been attempted.

There is every hope that, with the greater opportunities for organisation afforded by the larger Consorzio, the undaunted fishermen of Del Mazaro will be able to revitalise their society. Meanwhile Don Quinci has thrown himself heart and soul into the work of propaganda. In a recent article in the official organ of the Consorzio he calls upon the priests of the various Italian coast towns

[1] See *Il Pescatore*, October, 1922, the monthly periodical of the new organisation.

and cities to give themselves to the apostolate of organising the fishermen on co-operative lines.

These few examples may serve to show that among Catholic Labour circles in Italy this new spirit of co-operativism seems to be justifying itself as a means of emancipating the worker in an appreciable degree from the state of economic helplessness to which the capitalism of the present day threatens to condemn him. It has been employed as a means of organising groups of urban workers, such as builders, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, printers, mechanics of various kinds, and even ordinary day-labourers. It has also been of distinct service to agricultural workers, whether hired men or small holders. It has been widely used in the way we know it best in the cities of Ireland, namely, in the problems of provisioning and consumption. It has even penetrated to the lecture rooms of an Italian University, and the *Co-operativa Editrice Studentesca di Napoli*, with its projects for the co-operative purchase of textbooks, affords an interesting example of how far this principle may intrude into economic affairs.

The Value of Industrial Co-operativism.

To the question as to whether or not co-operativism, as applied to industrial problems, will ultimately succeed in solving the Social Question one hesitates to give anything like a decisive answer. To such a query the economist could not logically give a conclusive reply. Italy presents itself to the student of economics as a vast laboratory where certain important experiments are being conducted. The success or failure of most of the experiments depends to a great extent on the human factor. We cannot permit ourselves to forget that, although an excellent *a priori* case could be made for the Factory Councils, the experiment of trying them has always been complicated by the presence of the human element. In Russia and in Italy the Factory Councils failed because

of various elements, some political, some economic, and some moral; among such causes perhaps the principal was the fact of the disabilities, partly technical and partly moral, under which the workers laboured. Wherefore, in any and every evaluation of the Co-operativist system due account must be taken of the character and equipment of the men by whom it is immediately applied.

As far as the facts teach us anything, they seem to tell us that in the circumstances in which this principle is being tested it is giving encouraging results. Two elements stand forth that may tell us something more, namely, the circumstance that it has been tried with success principally in small industries, and the further circumstance that its spiritual value as distinguished from its material value has not been allowed to escape the attention of the workers.

In regard to the first point. Italy may truly be said to be a country of small industries. In the ordinary sense of the expression it can scarcely be said to be an industrial country at all, for it lacks the coal mines and the mineral deposits which have made the great industrial countries of the world what they are. In this respect there is something of a likeness between Italy and Ireland. Now in Italy the co-operation-principle in the form under discussion has been tried most easily in the case of the small industry. Co-operativism properly applied reacts as a constructive element of great economic advantage if it be present in a business concern from its foundation. Thus the primitive unit in every successful development along the lines of industrial co-operativism has been the small society beginning with a few members and starting in a small way. As to what its success might be if it were introduced into a going concern, there is no evidence one way or the other to enable us to hazard an opinion.

The second lesson afforded by the facts of experiment is much more conclusive and helpful, namely, that the modern social problem is not merely an industrial problem

but is also a psychological problem. On the one hand the Russian Bolshevists and the Italian Socialists failed partly because of technical ignorance, but partly because the workers lacked the co-operative spirit; and on the other hand the Co-operativist Movement is succeeding in Italy among workers who are imbued with that spirit. This is the one great difficulty for the organisers of the movement; they must live in unsleeping watchfulness lest those whom they would lead become weary or listless or forgetful of what co-operation means. Much depends in practice on the personality or the sympathy of the *direttore tecnico*. Wherefore, not content with frequent lectures on the value of the movement, not satisfied merely with affording opportunities to the worker for acquiring greater technical skill, not being unduly encouraged by the successes but soberly learning from the failures, the leaders in this great Catholic movement have now established a technical centre in Rome where those who aspire to be managers or *tecnici* or helpers in any way in the scheme may receive skilled instruction in the elements of Co-operativism. The venture is only in its second year of existence, but shows every sign of success.[1] The leaders go even further; they assert that the schools must inculcate lessons of brotherly co-operation into the children who are to be the men and women of to-morrow. Catholics and Socialists alike agree in admitting the need for the spiritual training side by side with the technical training of the workers of to-morrow. By the Catholic the need is recognised as being a need for something more than the spiritual; for him the need is for the supernatural. The supernatural lesson of the brotherhood of man has been consistently kept before him in the working-out of this natural principle of economics.

CHARLES F. RONAYNE.

[1] This is what is called the Università della Co-operazione.

THE PLACE OF THE SCIENCES IN GENERAL EDUCATION

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THE Commission on the curriculum of Secondary Education in Ireland, set up in September, 1921, during the period of the Truce, reported its proposals, unanimously agreed to, on December 7, 1922. In June, 1923, a Circular to Secondary Schools was issued from the Ministry of Education, notifying that it is the intention of the Minister, Dr. Eoin MacNeill, " to adopt in full the general principles of the programme " thus proposed, to take effect in the School Year 1924-1925. The circular adds : " In order that managers and teachers may be in a position to make the necessary preparation, it is intended that the new programme shall be published for their information as early as possible in the coming School Year, 1923-1924."

The most important secular issue in the whole curriculum of secondary studies in Ireland, next to the Irish Language itself, is the position to be granted to the sciences as a part of general education. Not only does it affect, by reason of the policy of co-ordination, the whole primary curriculum from 11 to 14 years of age, but it also directly influences, in an obvious way, all technical and higher education. The Committee on Science Studies, after exhaustive discussion, and after conference with many authorities all over Ireland, reached a unanimous conclusion as to the scope and aims of the new programme. Its views were confirmed and unanimously recommended by the entire Commission of the Second Dail. There is, however, good reason to fear that the cause is not yet safe ; and that the restoration

of true education through the sciences as an essential element in general education, and the integrity of the programme unanimously recommended, may be interfered with.

These pages are a plea for both these claims, and for an accurate definition of aims and methods in teaching the Sciences in Secondary Schools, with a view to national progress and efficiency on the lines securely established for centuries in Continental Europe. We cannot afford in Ireland to have the ill-planned methods derived from Scotland imposed on our schools any longer. We cannot afford to have English hesitations about making Science Studies essential in general education, influence our forward policy.

The argument from the history of Education in Continental Europe, both past and present, is on both these points conclusive. From the very foundation of the great European universities in the thirteenth century, the sciences, pure and applied, mathematical and physical, have not only been an essential portion of the curriculum of the Liberal Arts, but have even been the major portion of this traditional course of education, the portion towards which the language arts were directed as a preliminary course. When the period of excessive fervour for language studies, the earlier Renaissance, had passed by, the claims of the Sciences as the ultimate stage and most important part of general education were fully recognised and adequately provided for in time, in curriculum, in teaching provision. Anyone who examines, for instance, the studies of the Jesuit Colleges in France—they were over a hundred in number, and many of them had over 2,000 students—in the years preceding their violent suppression in 1762, will have to admit the dominant position of the Sciences at that time. For the past hundred years, the systematic teaching of a well planned course of scientific studies has been essential for all classes in all the secondary schools of France and Germany. Without

it, there is no liberal education. The reforms of 1923, in France, have been taken to mean the triumph of Classical Studies. The triumph, such as it is, is won on the battlefield of the languages alone. Monsieur Bérard has taken special care to strengthen, not to weaken, the courses in science, obligatory on all pupils from 12 to 18 years of age ; and he has considerably increased the time allowance on this side.

The fixing of the courses of study in Science for Secondary Education obviously depends on the aim of secondary education as a whole. That aim is by no means the same as the aim of Technical Education on the one hand, or as that of Higher Education, advanced Professional training, and Research work on the other. Owing to a want of clearly defined aims, the instruction given by teachers of Science in Ireland, who have had to work under the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction since 1901, has been very largely ineffective. The work of a manipulative character done in the " school laboratory " from 12 years of age, was made the basis and core of all instruction. Manipulative skill is not the aim, or even necessary adjunct, of general education through science ; the verification of certain processes in a school laboratory is a useful consequence of such education, but by no means a foundation for it The record of " experiments " made in the student's notebook was made to replace and suppress the use of a text-book. Training in the use of a text-book is the basis of all progressive education in science : and this reactionary plan of ousting the textbook, persisted in for many years, inflicted severe and permanent damage on Irish education and scientific progress. Even at the end of a five years' " Secondary Course," students reached the Universities without any definite body of knowledge, any grasp of scientific principles ; and such poor manipulative skill as they acquired was unable to be employed, for lack of the basic knowledge of the sciences. It is notorious that technical

schools in Ireland derived no benefit from these imported courses in science, given in our Secondary Schools.

The old and well established methods of education through science, by systematic demonstration and by the study of textbooks, which had been driven out, have to some extent been grudgingly readmitted in the last five years. More grudgingly still, examinations have been recalled to use, as an instrument and as a test of education. For fifteen years the main body of students of science in Secondary Schools in Ireland have been "passed" each year without any specific proof of knowledge and skill: the plan was a shrewd one, if not quite honest and candid. The pretentious claim that this was the one true method of science teaching, that it advanced on the lines of discovery, was insistently proclaimed at home and abroad. It seems to have mattered little that Sir William Ramsay, imported to bless the scheme in 1903, declared publicly that this heuristic method was mere humbug. When it was urged that neither Germany nor France would employ this precious "discovery method" for secondary or general education, Professor Henry Armstrong came over in 1908 to declare that, in respect of education in science at the secondary stage, Germany was a benighted country! He further announced—in the Education Section of the British Association, which met that year in Dublin—that one of the few centres of true education in science, one of the specks of light amid the general gloom, was the Naval School at Osborne, Isle of Wight. The Irish schools were in fact ordered to carry out a nondescript Scotch plan, and to put aside their own traditional and sound methods, thus severing themselves from the whole European system of Scientific Education, with which they had for a century been in close and fruitful contact.

If obligatory Science Courses for Irish Secondary Schools, as recommended by the Dáil Commission, means any continuance of this uneducative and purblind policy, we had much better have none of it. A thorough re-

organisation of the Inspection side of the Science Courses will also be necessary, if progress is to be made. There is reason to hope that this will be possible when the control of Education is regulated by the Ministries' Bill. The absurdity of having Science Courses in Secondary Schools controlled by a Department for *Technical* Instruction will, it is to be hoped, disappear : it was the root of all the evils described above. It worked its way by a most undesirable use of public funds. Science Courses were paid for twice over, giving them and their administrators a special and very peculiar "pull" in the financial tug-of-war under which Irish schools had to live. It is much to their credit that in these trying circumstances not a few good schools declined to have anything to do with the Science of the Department of Technical Instruction, and tried to give independent courses on the older and much sounder lines. The scandal of the misuse of public authority, especially of the public purse, to coerce free schools into adopting the faddist methods of unqualified officials will, it is to be hoped, not be heard of again in Ireland.

What is the aim of a general or secondary education in Sciences ? It is not discovery, it is not manipulative skill : it does not make the silly mistake of thinking that the function of science is realised in merely personal knowledge. That aim, as long explicitly defined and secured in France and in Germany, is the putting the pupil into mental possession of what has been achieved in the various main paths of scientific progress, and into a position to appreciate the importance of such research and progress in the present and in the future. The aim is really civic rather than personal. The well educated citizen in all probability will never have to "discover" anything in science, or to apply his own courses of study in any scientific way. That is the function of the research worker in the great laboratory, specially trained for such functions ; or of the technical worker, turned out for his

own grades of constructive work by a suitable technical school. The methods, personal duties, and acquired manipulative skill appropriate to the skilled investigator, to the proficient technical worker, should not be imposed on the body of secondary students as a whole. They were so imposed in Ireland, under functionaries who, designated to direct Technical Instruction, seized also, by control of the purse accidentally acquired, on the quite distinctive domain of general secondary education.

The civic result of true general education in Sciences has the further attribute, that it enables the educated citizen to appreciate the civic value of scientific progress, the need of promoting it, and the duty of paying for it. If a general curriculum for all is based on such lines, it results that research processes and technical methods will be left to those who turn specially into these fields of work after their general education is complete. The function of the teacher in a general educative course of science is to demonstrate principles, indicate applications, guide students in attaining a grasp of what has been achieved, and direct them in the process of verification of knowledge previously presented and explained. It can be summed up as tradition and inspiration, with civic progress in view. The consequences of this concept of the aim of secondary work in the sciences deserve to be traced out in some detail. The task is the easier, because the handling of the science subjects in France and in Germany closely realises the views thus defined.

A common and comprehensive curriculum is the first essential. That curriculum must take fully into account the growth in civic as well as in scientific importance of the biological sciences in the last half century. They can no longer be relegated to an inferior position.

Experimental Physics obtained a leading place in education a century ago, mainly because it had developed during the 17th and 18th centuries, while Chemistry and Biology were practically in a primitive state. Experi-

mental Physics has been kept too exclusively prominent in modern school curricula, because it alone suits to some extent the views of the promoters of the "heuristic method." The observational sciences, those which deal with plant life, animal life, mineralogy, have always had, in England and in Ireland, to put up with the position of poorer sisters in the curricula devised to suit that method. Similarly, it may be noted that deduction, the method of mathematics, has been often condemned as not being a scientific method at all: the meaning being that the inductive method of the Experimental Sciences is the one and only scientific method.

All these tendencies culminate in the attitude of the scientific agnosticism of modern England towards anything in the nature of authority in education. If the teacher directs, demonstrates, explains and argues out principles with a view to their application—all this is unscientific. Deduction argues from principle to detail; it sets rule before example; it is therefore not the scientific method. Pupils must not receive knowledge from a teacher; tradition is not a function of education. The learner must by personal investigation find out all the leading truths of science; this alone is real knowledge and education. Anything else is authoritative. Tradition is the antithesis of discovery; only discovery educates.

Apart from the manifold fallacies of this attitude of mind, this exclusive cult of the experimental sciences on the "heuristic plan" has the specially untoward consequence that it fosters an entirely false and arrogant concept of what we may term school science. The student, supposed to be personally investigating and working out a piece of experimental research in a school laboratory, and then led or compelled to make such work the basis of conviction and belief regarding scientific truth, is grossly misled. Work in a school laboratory in no way resembles or prepares for the true function of discovery and research. Misled as to the value and nature of what

is done in the school, the mind of the pupil is led to believe that the functions of the pioneer in scientific investigation are easy, direct in approach, palpably certain. The fact is that ninety-nine out of one hundred, in the realities of arduous effort towards discovery, are eliminated in the school laboratory. At every hand's turn the planned experiment, directed to be carried out, safeguards the pupil against exertion, responsibility, errors, the manifold failures to work along a route towards an achievement, all of which are constants in true research.

All this were entirely good and desirable, necessary even. But to call it research, investigation, discovery, is a hollow and insincere use of these high words. It is really verification of ascertained truths, done under detailed direction, as a means of deepening the knowledge of these truths. The mind of even the brilliant secondary student is quite immature as regards scientific investigation. It is a poor service to such a mind to delude it into even the transient belief that it is doing what it is unfit for or incapable of doing. All that the student, up to the close of a good undergraduate course, can at all achieve is to traverse the roads and beaten paths that make it easy to become acquainted with the foothills. Only when all this is done, can any attempt be made to scale the heights; and the whole experience of scientific progress in Germany, during all the years since 1870, goes to show that even among students conversant with all the broad results and problems of science, only few, comparatively speaking, can fittingly aspire to more than the effective use of ascertained scientific truth. Towards that end, both secondary and technical education, each in its distinct way, is directed in France and in Germany. It produces an army of skilled executants and a much larger army of enlightened citizens, whose respective tasks are to carry out work under skilled direction, and to appreciate and encourage scientific research.

This attitude towards experimentation, based on the

prolonged and highly successful school practice of Germany and France, in no way means that the school laboratories, which have been set up so widely in Ireland during the past twenty years, will go out of action. On the contrary, their efficiency will be greatly increased by being given a different and a more specific direction. In place of making the laboratory stage an initial portion of the teaching process considered as a unit, experimental work will follow study, demonstration, and the understanding of principles. Its function will be verification, the strengthening of the hold on knowledge. This process of verification and application of principles already known will gain greatly in thoroughness and mental value, if it is limited in each year to two or three specific pieces of work, selected for such verification out of the whole year's work. Each of these selected topics will by set design embody a definite combination of principles, observed phenomena, and practical ends. For this purpose, the equipment of a laboratory can be made much more select and effective than it usually is. Materials will not be needed for the hurried treatment of twenty questions; resources can be concentrated on doing two or three well. Useless variety of material, involving much unprofitable expense, will thus be eliminated. The student's note-book will combine the outcome of reading, of demonstration, of experimental verification and use of what is read; it will be the complement of the textbook, and will not seek to supplant it.

It is clear also that this reversal of the "heuristic" procedure will make for better thinking on the part of students, and even of teachers themselves. Patient observation, respect for and close attention to the work done by others beforehand, discipline of thought rather than its conjectural profusion will characterise the teaching of sciences in general education. The aims of the whole study will make it necessary for teacher and class to combine their forces: the true unit of educative effort is

not the class or the individual student alone, not the teacher alone, but teacher and class working together. Modern doctrines of method have been systematically working to depress the function of the teacher, and to eliminate systematic study, application to definite set work, combined work, in favour of an impossible individualism. The revival in Ireland of true methods of science teaching—they existed in a high state of perfection two generations ago in many schools—will strengthen the position and increase the mental influence of the teacher, and will effect a closer union between the work of the teacher and the work of those taught.

The curriculum will gain greatly by being made a single course common to all schools, extending over four years (12–16) as obligatory, and requiring of all students a suitable knowledge both of biological or observational, and of physical or experimental sciences. The course of work should be rigorously stripped of all that is technical in aim and process, and of all kinds of work that belong to the domain of investigation and research. It will gain greatly by being humanised ; and this gain calls for special attention, given that a main purpose of the work will be what may be termed civic enlightenment. Education is not to be limited to the development of individual capacities or powers, nor even to the abstract intellectual results from scientific study. In a Liberal curriculum it must be humanised. The great humanist writers on education, in the organising period, the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, laid great stress on the applications of mathematical and physical sciences as a stimulus and an aid to earlier school work. The doctrine of utility had no terrors for them : they put it in the forefront of their teaching. It is certain that the teaching of science in schools would gain enormously in power and in results, if it were made—in the best sense of the words—more human, more dramatic in its appeal. Two great modern instances in this respect may be cited as sources of what

may be termed "inspirational" teaching of science in schools. One lies on the experimental, the other on the biological side.

The work of Lord Kelvin is best known, in the civic life of the educated peoples of the world, by the great and successful career which he had in the application of electricity to submarine telegraphy. Beginning in 1854, he devised—in each case for a specific and practical purpose—the mirror galvanometer, the siphon recorder, and many other instruments in rapid succession. When electric lighting began to make itself heard of, he produced a new set of instruments to meet its needs. He was not too superior a person to think of devising an electricity meter for the private consumer, or to bend his great scientific knowledge to the very practical domestic problem of the provision of a good scientifically-designed domestic water-tap. That his reputation in the world of science, taking the strictest sense of that term, stood supremely high was shown by the celebrations at Glasgow in June, 1896, of the golden jubilee of his tenure of the Chair of Natural Philosophy. It was in no way lowered by the fact that he patented his inventions in many cases, and derived a large and most legitimate income from them. He stood for reverence on the part of Science towards God, the Creator, and he openly proclaimed it. Treat electricity in school science as centred round the work, theoretical and practical, of such men as Ampère and Kelvin, and it gains greatly, for general education at the secondary school period, by being thus humanised, dramatised, applied to human needs. Such treatment has one further not inconsiderable merit. Under it, the names of the mere exponents of science, too often winning popular notoriety by a parade of shallow agnosticism or blatant materialism, sink into that permanent insignificance which is the proper position for Tyndall, Huxley, and the like.

Pasteur, on the biological side, would also be a name

of inspiration, a call to efforts and arduous mental exertion for the good of humanity. A thorough worker in the research laboratory, he did not rest content with what styles itself "pure science." When in the years 1865–1868 he bent all his energies, with brilliant success, to the saving of the silk industry in France, badly damaged by the ravages of disease, he summed up the human philosophy of science in one sentence. "There is no greater charm," he wrote, "for the investigator than to make new discoveries ; but his pleasure is greatly increased when he sees that these discoveries have a direct application to practical life." The list of his published works runs on uniform lines, and all bespeak the man who was the servant of the people. *Etudes sur le vin*, 1866, is followed by *Etudes sur le vinaigre*, 1868, and that in turn by *Etudes sur la maladie des vers à soie*, 1870 ; *Etudes sur la bière*, 1876 ; and by the greatest of his achievements in the work of inoculation against rabies, 1885. Anthrax and cholera as farm diseases in France were also effectively dealt with by Pasteur. The money value of his discoveries in applied science was beyond all calculation : the War Indemnity paid by France could easily have been paid out of what he saved to the citizens of his country down to 1870. Like Kelvin, Pasteur stood clearly for those aspects of Science and Religion that can by no means be overlooked in the science classroom in the Secondary School.

Science, so centred around the work of great and beneficent discovery and application, would in the fullest sense belong to the Humanities, the Liberal Arts. It cannot without great national loss be omitted from the curriculum of a liberal education.

T. Corcoran.

ADRIFT

IN a little boat, in a frail black boat,
Out on a rising sea,
I sent my hopes on the waves afloat,
But they never came back to me:
They floated away in the little boat,
But never came back to me.

On secret wings—song's secret wings—
Out on a wide, wide sea,
I sent my thoughts, fleet-flying things,
To bring them again to me;
And they came back on swifter wings,
But with empty hands, to me.

And I had friends who came with me
Out on a wild, wild sea;
They took my thoughts and songs away,
Gaily, away from me,
And smiling, steered another way,
Another way from me.

I drifted sadly home again,
Home from across the sea;
And lo! I found One waiting then
On the very fringe o' the sea,
With hopes and songs and friends again,
Waiting there for me. M. MONGEY.

TREASURE TOMB

A GREAT ship went a-sailing
From out a port of Spain
With treasure for a Moorish king
Beyond the main.

But gloom came up behind her,
And a wind out of the gloom,
And ere the morning whitened
She drifted to her doom—

Drifted down to a wild forest
Under the swaying tide,
Till the sea-sand was mounded high
To her broken side.

Over the splintered mast waved shadowy
Foliage of the deep,
Where strange fish fanning dreamily
Hung as in sleep.

And dim green rays groped thither
From suns and plenilunes,
To bleach the dead men's bones and glint
On ingots and doubloons.

Rust and the thieving ages
Pilfered the galleon's hold
Of life and beauty, sparing
Only the lifeless gold.

Beauty and all things precious,
Man and his works there lay,
Crumbling within the blackened timbers
Day by day ;

While ever the gold in whose quest
Those lives consuméd were
Gleamed through the fleshless fingers
With cold, unwinking glare.

So, through the years slow-creeping,
In the still waters' womb
Lay the unmouldering gold, deep
Hid in a mouldering tomb,

Flickering through faint waterways
Lulled in a silver swoon,
Up to the shadows of ships that pass
Over the pale moon. ARTHUR LITTLE.

IMMUTABILITY

WE are dim figures moving in a story
Written by God in His first dawn of dream.
The real ecstasy and fire and glory
Are clothed in coloured robes of things that seem.

Life is the rich illusion of a sleep
Wherein the Unseen dons the veil of seeing,
While hidden in its darkness cries the deep
Inevitable sainthood of our being.

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA.

INTERDEPENDENCE

THE spirit of a shooting-star
Spoke through the silence from afar :
" The utterance of each human lie
Pulls down a star-life from the sky."

Then spoke the spirit of the field :
" My human friend, each time you yield
Your soul to unbelief and doubt
A blade of grass forgets to sprout."

Then Some One spoke within my soul :
" Behold ! your human hands control
The forces of the world that need
Truth in each daily word and deed."

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA.

India.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXIII.—On the Death of a Poet

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

The following poem was apparently written during the last illness of O Heóghusa (Eochaidh), author of Nos. IV, XIV, XIX and XXI in this series. The MS. heading is *Ar bhás Eochaidh Hí Eóghusa aliquis cecinit.*

The word *éigse*, here rendered "poesy," meant in the older language rather "science, wisdom," a meaning which clings to it in the poetry of the schools. The poet was a wizard, and belief in the power of his spells lasted down to modern times. So the author thinks of O Heóghusa as feeding on the fruit of the hazels of wisdom which grew at the source of the Boyne, and wearing a robe like that of Néde son of Adnae in the *Colloquy of the two Sages* (RC XXVI): "Three were the colours of the robe, to wit, a covering of bright birds' feathers in the middle, a showery speckling of *findruine* on the lower half outside, and a golden colour on the upper half."

The text is from 23 M 28 (R.I.A.), a MS. written in 1684 by an tAthair Eóghan O Caoimh. I have normalised the accents.

1. Fogus orchra don éigsi :
gá ttás cur ré coiméidsi ?
do bhean sí céill do chabhuir ;
ní réidh[1] í ó orchradhaibh.

2. Ar n-éigsi as neimhní annosa,
dá ttí tásg Hí Eódhusa ;
sgeing na haithmhéile dí is dloigh,
fá bainchéile í d'Eochaidh.

3. An cádhus do chleacht idir
ionnsa a dhul a ndímhigin :[2]
gar léan a dínsighthi dhi,
nél a híslighthi uaisdi.

[1] réigh MS. [2] ndíbhigin MS.

4. Do-rad dó tar gach nduine
sgaith a heóil 'sa hionmhuine,
nó gur léigsi agus lúdh[1] ann
glún na héigse dá altram.[2]

5. Léir ar ghnaoi a ghréasa annosa
seinmhéin[3] doilbhthe an dánasa
ann 'na breólasair gur bhruinn,
tall don eólasoin urruinn.[4]

6. Do-chuaidh tré screaptraibh na sgol,
fuair fréamha[5] eóil na n-ughdor :
dual mórthuireadh uainn don fhior,
fuair an órthuidhean[6] fhileadh.

7. Cnú na ccollsa ó bhfaghthaoi fios
fá dhlaoi do-fhuair an t-éigios ;
ó ros boing[7] ceas dona cnaibh,
na croinn[8] lé meas ag meabhsain.

8. Coimhdheas chumus an file[9]
bucca an bhéarla theibidhe,
'sna fuighle dorcha 'na dhán,
a chuimhne ortha is iomshlán.

9. Tig 'na cheann, ní cungnamh slim,
óradh ughdar an léighinn,
'na dhán as-teach go ttabhair ;
dál[10] 'na mbeach a bharamhail.

10. Na beich[11] ó bhruach gach oirir
teaguid leó dá lóntoighibh[12]
sugh na sgoth mbreachtnoighthe mbog
's bleachttoirthe na gcloch gcadott.

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[1] léighsi ⁊ lúgh—MS. [2] haltram MS. [3] seanmheinn MS. [4] oruinn MS. [5] freamh MS. [6] orthuighean MS. [7] buing MS. [8] crainn MS. [9] fhile MS. [10] dá MS. [11] beith MS. [12] -toighthibh MS.

11. Maca samhla dár seise,
níor fháguibh don éigsesi
(breith a ghill uaidh ní homhan)
tim ná cruaidh gan chuartoghadh.

12. Na hoideadha as ollmha a bhfios
as é éirnios a n-ainchios ;
earr ár ttagraine asé sin,
adlé abdhuine uaisdibh.

13. Uathadh do chách ar nach cuir
an teidhmsi ag tinnmhe an olluimh :
créad acht goin chló tré chroidhe,
doigh as mó lé millfidhe ?

14. Mo chumhasa[1] fá a chruth nár
as imneadh bó fá a baothán :
brón go séis síreachta[2] soin—
am dhílleachta d'éis Eochaidh.

15. An éigse do-chuaidh dá cuing,
munab slán mac Maoil Sheachluinn :
neach dá léim níor saoileadh so,
aoinfhear don chléir ní charfo.

FOGUS.

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[1] chúmhadhsa MS. [2] síthréachta MS.

Translation.

1. Decay is near to Poesy—how can she be saved ?—she hath despaired of succour—she is not safe from eclipse.
2. Now is our Poesy brought to nought, if the fatal tidings of O Heóghusa come : the bed of affliction befits her—she was wedded to Eochaidh.
3. The reverence to which she was ever used, hard it is that it should turn to scorn : the misery of her disesteem is nigh unto her, the cloud of her humiliation is over her.

4. To him above all men she gave the flower of her love and her knowledge, till she yielded, while it[1] was still vigorous, her lap to nurture him.
5. From the fashion of his artistry now it is clear that the old mystic ore of this craft was refined in him like a bright flame ; he took a great share of that knowledge (?)
6. He passed through the writings of the schools, he found the roots of knowledge of the authors ; a great elegy is due to him from us ; he won the poet's golden robe.
7. The nut of these hazels from which knowledge was wont to be got, the sage found hidden ; when he stripped the shell from the nuts, the trees were breaking with fruit.
8. With equal ease the poet fashions the Select Speech[2] and the dark words in his verse ; his memory of them is perfect.
9. There comes to him—no slight help—the gilding of learned authors, so that he brings it into his verse ; the way of the bees is his similitude.
10. The bees from the brink of every region bring with them to their storehouses the juice of the soft many-hued flowers and the milky fruits of the hard stones.[3]
11. They are types of our comrade ; of this science—there is no fear that he should be surpassed—he has left neither hard nor soft unsearched.
12. The teachers most expert in knowledge—it is he that solves their doubts : this is the conclusion of our plea, he is entitled to rule over them.
13. Few there be that suffer not from this disease that strikes the master What is it but a spike that pierces the heart, a pang that would most surely slay ?
14. My grief for his noble form is the anxiety of a cow about her silly calf : this is a sorrow with a wistful melody—I am an orphan after (the loss of) Eochaidh.
15. Poesy hath forsaken the bond (of wedlock), unless Maoil-Sheachlainn's son revive : that another should win her is not to be hoped ; she will love no man of the bardic company.

Osborn Bergin.

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[1] or he. [2] one of the five kinds of Gaelic ; see Keating's Forus Feasa II, 10.
[3] The origin of this belief is unknown to me.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN MEXICO[1]

BY EBER COLE BYAM.

DR. E. J. DILLON, a prominent publicist and writer, has written a book entitled *President Obregon—A World Reformer*[2] in which he takes occasion to eulogize Obregon, his companions, his ideals, his works, and the political leaders of the past whose policies have produced men like Obregon and conditions such as now prevail in Mexico. In admiring the qualities he professes to have discovered in Obregon Dr. Dillon pauses to hang a wreath on the memory of Obregon's schoolmaster, whom he informs us was an agnostic and whose agnosticism he took pains to impress upon his pupils. The fruit of this teaching appears in the deeds and policies of Obregon, which are a faithful reflection of the deeds and policies of Juarez.

An eye witness of events in Mexico City, at the time it was occupied by the forces of General Obregon, had this to say in his testimony given under oath before the United States Senate Committee investigating Mexican affairs :—

Of all the leaders who had charge of Mexico City, General Alvaro Obregon distinguished himself as the worst. . . . Obregon made speeches and issued proclamations . . . calling upon the rabble of Mexico City to loot the city and telling them that, if they did, he would do nothing to protect property. It was difficult for him to get the rabble started, so he sent his troops to lead them in looting

[1] [We applied to the National Catholic Welfare Council of America for an authoritative article on religious conditions in Mexico. The N.C.W.C. communicated our letter to the Catholic Church Extension Society (Chicago). The President of this Society, Mgr. Francis C. Kelley, commissioned a member of his staff, Mr. Eber Cole Byam, to write the article. Some readers may consider Mr. Byam's analysis of Mexican conditions to be coloured by religious prejudice. To avoid this possible charge, it may be well to state the fact that Mr. Byam is not a Catholic. —Editor.]

[2] London : Hutchinson, 1923. 21*s.* net.

a prominent church in the very centre of the city, the church of Santa Brigida, and also the adjoining parochial school. After the soldiers had started the looting, the rabble went in and took even the tapestry off the walls and also took out the flooring.

Obregon took charge of Mexico City and committed every outrage that his ingenuity could suggest. There were at that time no trains to the north, and only at rare intervals a train to Veracruz. The plight of 500,000 inhabitants can easily be imagined. Obregon decided to punish Mexico City for reasons that no civilised man could understand. He threw a cordon of troops around the city, and would permit the introduction of only a limited amount of food; vegetables he allowed to enter only at certain hours of the day; he cut off train communications with Toluca, and at times with Puebla; the electric lights were turned off after a certain hour each evening, and water was allowed to enter the city only at certain hours during the day; all the controllers were taken off the street cars and shipped to Veracruz, with the result that the street car system of Mexico City was paralysed and residents in the suburbs had to walk from 3 to 10 miles. . . .

As if Obregon were not satisfied to starve the population of Mexico City, he decided to outrage their religious sentiments; he arrested over 150 priests, marched them through Mexico City, and imprisoned them for a day or two. When the populace started to demonstrate against such outrageous treatment, he had his troops fire into them, killing several people and stopping the public manifestation. Obregon then took these unfortunate priests, put them in box cars and cattle cars, and shipped them down to Veracruz.[1]

In addition to the barbarous acts mentioned Obregon and his lieutenants occupied the best residences of Mexico City, looting the interiors, destroying what could not be carried away, and leaving them in a condition too filthy to be described. Rare and costly libraries were scattered and sold volume by volume for a few cents each. All witnesses are agreed that the men commanded by Obregon were well disciplined. Their acts, therefore, are to be chargeable directly to the definite orders of their superiors.

Before occupying the City of Mexico General Obregon took possession of the City of Guadalajara, the second

[1] Senate Doc., §285, pp. 800 *et seq.*

largest city in Mexico. Like the occupation of Mexico City, that of Guadalajara was accomplished without firing a shot. There was no defence. The population was unarmed. Although ample accommodations were available elsewhere, the seminary was seized and occupied and also the Jesuit College and the ladies' college of the Sacred Heart. A few days later the ringing of church bells was forbidden. Still later all the priests of the city were ordered to be imprisoned. About one hundred priests were thus jailed. Among them was the venerable Dean of the Cathedral, over eighty years of age, who was taken from a sick bed and literally dragged to prison. Rewards were offered for the discovery of hidden priests. The Cathedral was used as a barrack, the tabernacle violated and the Blessed Sacrament scattered about the floor to be trampled upon.

The college of the Salesians, an industrial school, was likewise confiscated and closed. In fact all the numerous schools belonging to the Catholics were closed.

The socialistically inclined in Guadalajara were very few; but these became very active under the protection afforded by the forces of Obregon. Among the leaders of this group was a woman named Ataila Apodaca, a public school teacher who had aroused the opposition of the Catholics because of her active efforts in teaching irreligion to the children. Shortly after the arrival of Obregon in Guadalajara his forces observed the anniversary of the death of Benito Juarez and held a meeting in one of the theatres, where the speaker of the occasion was this same Ataila Apodaca. She distinguished herself by uttering many blasphemies and insistently demanded the persecution of the clergy. She was rewarded for this by being appointed "Inspector of Private and Public Institutions of Instruction of Primary Grade." Still later a proclamation was issued forbidding all religious instruction in schools. Obregon took possession of the Archbishop's residence and established his headquarters there. The

episcopal archives were carried away. This was a severe loss, because these archives contained much valuable historical matter dating back to the foundation of the diocese nearly four hundred years ago. The governor appointed was an ex-convict.

The priests and sisters were crowded into a train and sent to Colima. They suffered severe privations on the way in addition to numerous indignities. From Colima they were sent later to the port of Manzanillo where, after a long wait and much suffering, they were able to engage passage on a Chinese coaster for San Francisco. Though their sufferings were extreme, these sisters were infinitely more fortunate than those left abandoned in Veracruz when the American forces withdrew. Father Joyce, Chaplain with the American forces in Veracruz, testified as follows before the Senate Committee (pp. 2656 *et seq.*) :—

> At Veracruz, during the summer of 1914 and immediately after the abdication of Huerta, there were between 600 and 700 sisters, refugees, in Veracruz, some clothed in the habit of the religious order, others in various disguises. I sent cablegrams to the cardinals, to the board of Archbishops, to the Federation of Catholic Societies, to the Church Extension Society, and to Mr. Flaherty, of the Knights of Columbus, asking that aid and transportation be furnished to religious people who were then refugees in Veracruz. Besides the sisters there were many priests who were refugees also. These men were working in various places. Some were waiting upon tables in restaurants, others were working in the docks, all trying to earn enough money to get out of the country. There were also seven bishops and archbishops in Veracruz at that time. . .

The wealth of evidence accumulated against the Mexican revolutionary leaders shows clearly that they had two well defined purposes in mind. First, the systematic looting of the country. Second, the destruction of the Catholic Church in Mexico.

From indiscriminate looting by detached revolutionary bands the process has become systematized under govern-

ment supervision or sanction. Property is confiscated either by decree or through the imposition of heavy taxes. Officials high and low are carried on the pay-rolls of such corporations as are permitted to do business in the country.

The authorities view with a benevolent eye every attack made by the socialist mob upon Catholics. Only a few months ago a group of Catholic workmen were leaving the Cathedral in Guadalajara after devotions. They were met at the church door by a group of socialists who fired on them, killing six and wounding twelve. As the attack was expected, the authorities were warned and asked to prevent it. Nothing was done and the federal authorities were likewise inactive. Frequent attacks are thus made upon Catholics by the criminal elements led by socialist agitators with the sanction or connivance of the authorities.

That Obregon and his lieutenants are sincere socialists is open to question. They have failed to carry out logically the ideals expressed and practised by Lenin and Trotzky, and have not hesitated to deal ruthlessly with any socialists who, either individually or in groups, have dared to oppose them. Socialist propaganda, however, is the means by which they have drawn to themselves the organized force that keeps them in power. By paying this force with ill-gotten gains; by permitting their subordinates to blackmail and extort; by placating the uncompromising radicals with occasional persecutions of the Catholics, these military politicians maintain themselves for brief periods in power, until overthrown by some conspiring lieutenant. In character the various presidents have differed but slightly. For over one hundred years they have fought, and outraged, and robbed, and destroyed, and persecuted, and Obregon, running true to form, tells us that the end is not yet.

* * * *

When the Spanish conquerors made themselves masters

of Mexico they found a host of hostile tribes speaking many different languages and practising the most abominable religious rites, in which human slaughter and cannibal feasts formed the principal part. The native culture was more barbarous than civilized, and the remains testify that it must have been the degenerate remnant of something superior introduced from without in the remote past. The vast majority of the inhabitants existed under the most primitive conditions and lived in constant dread of attack by hostile neighbours when they were not planning attacks on their own account. Men, women, and even little children, were butchered and devoured.

The marvellous change from this black inferno to the light of Christian joy and well-being was little short of miraculous. A few hundred devoted missionaries, scattered over a territory larger than France and Germany, always opposed by the native medicine men and frequently opposed by the native chiefs, brought the people voluntarily into the Church and planted the Faith so securely in their hearts that a century of radical supremacy and tyranny has failed to dislodge it, though every effort has been made to do so.

How these Indians prospered under the rule of the Spanish Friars is well told by Thomas Gage, whose testimony we may trust because he was an apostate friar and the avowed enemy of Spain and the Catholic Church. Under the tutelage of the friars the Indians were taught the various arts and crafts known in Europe; the Indian children were obliged to attend school and were taught to read, to write and cipher, and those of special aptitude were sent to the great Indian College of Santa Cruz in the City of Mexico.

The rule of Spain in Mexico and the services of the Catholic clergy to the Mexican people, during the first three centuries after the Conquest, justify the declaration that no people in the world's history ever enjoyed for a

like period such peace and prosperity as were granted the Mexicans. The much maligned conqueror Cortes became the idol of the natives, who looked up to him and preferred him to their native chiefs, a fact feelingly testified to by his enemies. How he organized new industries and devised social legislation appears in the records. When England was passing laws setting maximum wages and minimum hours of labour, Mexico already had laws stipulating minimum wages and maximum hours of labour; and in addition to the wage the labourer had to be fed. The Mexican maximum of labour was two hours less than the English minimum.

When Iturbide set out to separate Mexico from Spain, he made the fatal mistake of enlisting some of the leaders and men who had been active in the previous revolution. Many of these men were under the influence of radical agitators imbued with the ideals of the French Revolution. These vicious elements sympathized with, and included in their ranks, the vagabond and criminal members of the community. They all fell into line behind Iturbide, not to aid his cause but to further their own. They planned to help him that they might overthrow him afterwards and then place themselves in power.

Lacking experience in self-government beyond local affairs, and lacking the means of publicity so necessary to a right understanding of events as they unfolded, the Mexican people were confused and disunited and failed to realize the objective of the warring political factions that succeeded Independence.

Iturbide had been a General in the government forces. He was Mexican born, as were a large majority of his fellow officers. He unquestionably represented the majority of his countrymen, and there is every reason to believe that the Mexican people would have established a successful government had he been permitted to remain at the head of affairs. Unfortunately, Iturbide endeavoured to establish that form of government which experience

and the logic of facts had demonstrated as best suited to the genius of the Mexican people, at least until they had acquired sufficient experience in the affairs of national administration to change that form. The proposal had been made in the treaty arranged with the Spanish viceroy that some member of the Royal Family should accept the throne of Mexico. The Spanish government saw fit to repudiate this treaty and for a number of years refused to recognise the independence of Mexico. Perhaps Iturbide acted unwisely in permitting himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Mexico; but however that may be, it is quite easy to see at this distance that the evils attendant upon his action were as nothing compared with the very great evils that have assailed the country since his rejection.

The establishment of a monarchy met with the severe disapproval of Washington, and Mr. Monroe sent Joel Poinsett to Mexico where relations were entered into with the radicals for the purpose of overthrowing Iturbide. The movement succeeded, and Iturbide was compelled to leave. He attempted to return later, but was taken and shot.

Hidalgo, a priest, had led the first revolution against the Spanish authority. The records show that his action was undoubtedly inspired by a desire to escape the consequences of his previous conduct, for indictments were pending against him in the ecclesiastical courts. He gathered around him a group of men of doubtful antecedents and pursued a policy of murder and pillage. The men who sprang up in various sections of the country, professing to follow his lead and heading detached bands of so-called patriots, were many of them well known bandit leaders or men with an unsavoury past. They represented more a protest of savagery against the restraints of civilization than any other sentiment that can be defined. The intellectual leaders in this movement, who did little fighting (as is usually the case), were deeply

imbued with the principles of the French Revolution, and they lost no time in hastening to seek the aid and sympathy of the American people. Hidalgo's representative was captured on his way to the United States; but others succeeded in reaching there, and these proceeded to disseminate a flood of propaganda which served not only the immediate purpose intended, but established a firm foundation for all the erroneous beliefs about Mexico that prevail throughout the English-speaking world to-day.

The appeals thus made by the Mexican radicals to Protestant America found willing and credulous ears. They were made to suit the prejudices of their hearers, and in consequence there was created a phantom Mexico as grotesque as it is unreal. It haunts the pages of our histories; it stalks our legislative halls; it sits at every board where Mexico is discussed; it stares at us from every sheet of the countless tons of propaganda that have been printed in an endeavour to give it substance; and it colours the judgment of the great majority of Americans, even among its enemies.

In their endeavour to enlist American sympathy for their cause the Mexican radicals created a tradition of high civilization possessed by the aboriginal inhabitants of Mexico, and then charged the Spaniards with its destruction; they invented countless vicious calumnies against the civil and religious authorities, and in doing so made their own kind appear as ignorant and slothful and unclean both physically and morally; and all this for the purpose of justifying their separation from Spain and their defiance of the established Faith.

As is usually the case when the foundations of civilization are attacked, those destined to suffer the most were most apathetic, while those in a position to take the lead in a vigorous defence were indisposed to make the sacrifices required. The Mexican people have always looked to their Bishops for guide and counsel, and these, by the very nature of their calling, have been inhibited

from sanctioning any resort to violence. Yet violence is the only remedy where a small but militant minority control the country by force of arms. Nevertheless, on three important occasions efforts were made to seek freedom from this tyranny, and on each occasion the United States government used its armed forces to defeat this purpose and to reinstate the radicals in power.

The first issue that developed after independence was that between the politicians and the Hierarchy over the nomination of bishops and the appointment of parish priests. The handling of the funds supporting the various beneficent and educational institutions also was involved. The latter, however, for a time was secondary, because the patronage necessarily would have controlled the latter. The bishops, when called upon for a declaration on the matter, decided that the privileges sought had been a personal favour granted to the kings of Spain by the Pope, and that with the separation from Spain the right of the State to interfere no longer existed.

The real purpose of the politicians, as is easy to see, was the manipulation of the funds mentioned. Finding themselves thus baulked by the bishops, the politicians began more or less open attacks upon the many beneficent and educational institutions then existing. These attacks took the form of laws designed to transfer the management of these institutions from the hands of the clergy to those of the civil government. These laws met with much opposition, and when attempts were made to enforce them the popular indignation became so great that the officials frequently were compelled to desist from their purpose. It was during this period that the destruction of the California Missions was begun. Involved in all this agitation was the purpose to drive all Spaniards from the country and confiscate their properties. This was accomplished with the accompaniment of most fiendish brutalities.

In 1833 laws were passed placing the appointment of

parish priests in the hands of the civil authorities. The tithes were abolished. The members of the religious orders were declared freed from their vows. The clergy were forbidden to engage in educational work. And steps were taken to confiscate all the Church property, which, of course, included all the educational and beneficent institutions in the country. The opposition of the bishops to these measures brought about their exile, and the indignation of the vast majority of the people encouraged the disgruntled factions among the radicals to attack the faction in power.

The turmoil and confusion following independence produced one figure of importance that has served as a model for all the political leaders since. Santa Anna was that figure until 1855, when he was driven from power by the extreme radicals. Santa Anna was incompetent, inconstant, boastful, wasteful, and selfish. He was inherently conservative; but he had few friends among the conservatives and could command no united support from them. This and his own lack of judgment led him to seek the support of the radicals, and these brought so much misery in their train that in one particular instance, at least, he fomented a revolution against himself to get them out.

The downfall of Santa Anna saw the triumph of Juarez and the extreme radicals. The expulsion of Santa Anna was popular, but the radicals who followed him were so intolerable that their leader, Juarez, was eventually forced to leave the country. He went to New Orleans by way of Acapulco and Panama, and then managed to slip into Veracruz where a group of his followers took possession of the city. During the half century of revolutions marking this period the country had been suffering a steady and alarming shrinkage of all its values. Properties could be bought for a fraction of the sums for which they had been mortgaged during the Spanish régime. Guanajuato, once the third largest city in North America,

with a population of 60,000, dwindled to a dead provincial town of but 6,000. All industry practically ceased. But worse was to follow.

The poverty of the country made it impossible for the existing government to organize an effective force for its defence. The pressing danger was the occupation of Veracruz by Juarez, and the task of dislodging him was one that called for elements and knowledge not then existing. The location of Veracruz at sea level in the tropics made a campaign of any length of time a matter of certain death for men from the interior highlands. The only hope for success lay in the purchase by the government of war vessels that could co-operate with the land forces. Some ships, therefore, were purchased in Cuba by the Mexican government and loaded with supplies and dispatched to the Mexican coast, while a body of troops was organized and marched to lay siege to the city on its landward side.

Juarez and his radical followers had left no stone unturned to spread their propaganda in the United States and to enlist the aid and sympathy of the United States government. On the 6th of March, 1860, the Mexican ships arrived off the Mexican coast, where they were attacked by the ships of the American navy and taken prisoners to New Orleans, from whence they were later delivered to Juarez. This action encouraged every evil element in Mexico to rise and join the ranks of Juarez. He could obtain arms and supplies in abundance, while the government was prevented from procuring any by the armed forces of the United States. The weakened and disarmed government was finally destroyed.

This triumph of Juarez was followed by a saturnalia of crime and destruction. The principal target was the Church, and all the beneficent and educational institutions, built up and endowed during three centuries, were involved in the universal ruin. The higher clergy were exiled; the religious orders were suppressed; the Church

properties, and many that were not Church properties, were confiscated and sold. The valuable libraries owned by the numerous colleges and other institutions were scattered and sold for a few cents a volume—in many instances to small shops as wrapping paper.

The how and why of the disposal of all this property is strikingly illustrated by a single transaction, that of the purchase of a number of properties by Limantour, the father of the famous finance minister under Diaz. These properties consisted of a number of buildings in the City of Mexico. In 1856 they had been valued at $587,419.00. As this was for purposes of confiscation we may be sure that the estimate was conservative; in fact, the basis of valuation was the rental, which was assumed to be 6 per cent. of the capital value. Limantour purchased these properties for $1,832.40 in cash and government due bills which had cost him $40,077.90. Involved in this purchase was the famous San Andres Hospital which was valued at $13,865. This building had been a Jesuit college; it was taken over by the Spanish government when the Jesuits were expelled in 1767 and was later opened as a hospital with 400 beds, the equipment for this being paid for by Archbishop Haro, who supported the institution for a number of years and left it heavily endowed. The Hospital of the Third Order of St. Francis, across the street from the San Andres, was sold for a like ridiculous sum and was used for some time as a hotel. The government then rebought it at many times the sum previously paid, and its site is now occupied by the Post Office. The great asylum for the poor, covering some eleven acres and including a maternity hospital and an industrial school, was stripped of all its supporting properties and suffered to fall into an abandoned ruin. The great Hospital Real, built for the Indians, was sold and converted into a tenement. The Hospital de San Hipolito became an abandoned ruin. The San Lazaro Hospital was sold to private parties and converted to

other uses; its church was occupied as a warehouse. The Belemitas Hospital was sold and converted into dwellings, and its church into a library. The Hospital de la Santisima was closed and sold to private parties. The famous girls' college, founded by Friar Gante in 1548, was sold and later became the German Club. The college of San Miguel, for women, was converted into a jail. The college of the Brothers of Charity, near by, was converted into a barrack. The Refuge for women became a military hospital. The famous college of Santa Cruz, founded by Bishop Zumarraga in 1536, became a barrack and its church a warehouse. The college of San Pedro and San Pablo and the college of San Gregorio were transformed into a House of Correction.

The institutions mentioned are only a part of those in the City of Mexico that were extinguished. A like story can be told of every one of the many cities in the country. There is scarcely a town but possessed for many years the crumbling ruins of massive buildings that at one time had been colleges, hospitals, or other institutions of public benefit. Some of those that could be adapted to private uses were sold; the government took what it needed for its own purposes; the remainder were suffered to fall into ruin.

Juarez outlawed the Catholic Church by denying it a legal existence. The laws decreed by him, and later incorporated in the constitution, forbade the clergy practically every activity except the exercise of their sacerdotal functions within the church edifice. Every effort was made to separate the Mexican people from their Church. Every encouragement was given to Protestant missionaries. Church buildings taken from Catholics were given to them to use. The schools established and conducted by the government employed teachers who made every effort to undermine the faith of the pupils. The text books became anti-Catholic to the extent that every branch of learning was made to

furnish examples that would sustain the anti-Catholic argument.

Juarez died and was succeeded by Lerdo, a radical fanatic. His rule was short. He was driven out by Porfirio Diaz, a factional leader whose tendencies were moderate. Nevertheless, Diaz, in 1904, passed the law forbidding any religious service at a grave.

For all his moderation, Porfirio Diaz failed to repeal any of the laws that had been intended to destroy the Catholic Church. To a certain extent he ignored them, but from time to time a spasmodic enforcement in individual cases was made to please some local fanatic or as a measure to punish or repress any attempt of the Catholics to organize for their mutual benefit. This character of " moderation " failed to satisfy either party, and his rule would have been as short as that of his predecessors had it not been for the threat of intervention made by the United States and which he was astute enough to keep ever before the eyes of those who showed evidences of unrest. This " spectre " kept Mexico at peace for a generation and made it prosperous. For some reason, as yet unpublished, Madero was encouraged to defy the " spectre," with the results we have witnessed.

To justify their revolt against Diaz, and later against Huerta, the Mexican radicals, now frankly socialists, repeated and circulated widely in the United States all the vicious calumnies against the Catholic Church. These are too well known to be repeated here. In addition to these calumnies against the Church they disseminated equally false statements about the economic status of the country. The principal grievance, the one depended upon, and successfully, to enlist the sympathies of uninformed persons, was that relating to the land. It was alleged that only a few persons held title to the greater part of the Mexican Republic. These statements vary in detail, but all convey the impression that only a few families, mostly foreigners, own all the land in Mexico.

The refutation of this very important misrepresentation requires the repetition of certain dry statistical matter. For this purpose we will take a typical state, Jalisco, which has an area of 33,486 square miles and a population (census of 1910) of 1,202,802. The assessment list for 1912, under Madero, shows a total of 165,816 farm properties. The ratio of farms to inhabitants is that of 1 to 7.3. The average for the United States is that of 1 to 13.6. In the division of its landed property Jalisco surpasses 43 states of the American Union. In 1908 the state of Puebla, 12,204 square miles and 1,092,456 inhabitants, showed 277,680 farms, an average of 28 acres per farm and a ratio of 1 farm to 3.9 persons. The remaining states vary only in degree from these figures. The large Indian population still owns and occupies, as communal holdings, the same lands secured to them by the Crown nearly four centuries ago. Juarez decreed the sale of these communal lands, but the evil effects of his policy were so apparent and the opposition of the Indians was so determined that the project was abandoned by Diaz.

The men now in control of Mexico are avowed socialists, and the principles sustained by them are as avowedly socialistic. Socialism naturally merges into communism and, therefore, must be opposed to every institution whose continued existence and success depends upon remaining free from governmental control. The material side of the Catholic Church, its schools, its beneficent institutions, and the funds and properties from whose income their support is derived, are dependent for their continued existence and success upon the right to acquire, hold and administer property. Without this system the Church would be dependent for its material support upon the uncertain whims of political adventurers like Obregon. These, in turn, feel bound to do their best to destroy the Church. This they seek to do, first, by depriving it of all material support, and, second,

by reducing the number of the faithful. The latter object is to be secured by monopolizing education and by teaching the rising generation to despise the Faith of their fathers. The outlook for religion in Mexico is not bright.

EBER COLE BYAM.

[*The following letter was written in answer to some comments passed by us on the foregoing article.—Editor.*]

Your letter of June 30th to Monsignor Kelley has been referred to me by him for attention. I am enclosing some additional matter for your consideration. The comment in your letter indicates that you are interested in the Mexican question as a whole, all of which is very gratifying, and I pray that you will find it convenient to devote enough space in your valued publication to convince your readers of the truth about Mexico. Unfortunately the subject becomes unavoidably controversial for the following reasons :—

1. The accepted histories in the English language have been written largely by prejudiced writers, who gathered their information from revolutionary, *i.e.* anti-Catholic, sources.

2. The revolutionary agitators have spread an ever-increasing flood of propaganda in the United States intended to enlist the moral and material support of the American people.

3. As the majority of the American people are non-Catholic, and many anti-Catholic, all this propaganda has found fertile soil, and the harvest has been the extension to the revolutionaries of moral and material aid. Even the Government itself has used its armed forces on two distinct and important occasions to aid the radicals. (President Buchanan in 1860 and President Wilson in 1914).

4. Scarcely any statement of fact about Mexico can be made, or event narrated, that does not encounter some settled opinion to the contrary that makes the reader either incredulous of the truth or at least unable to decide which is true, because of a lack of sufficient collateral facts to support the truth. So much mendacious propaganda has been circulated that the cumulative effect is difficult to counteract without a considerable accumulation of testimony in rebuttal.

5. The revolutionary propagandists justified their enterprises by traducing first the Spaniards and later the Church. To do this they created a great Aztec Empire, with an emperor, and libraries, and laws, and courts and judges, and all the appurtenances of a high degree of civilisation. And the statement frequently is made that the Spaniards destroyed a civilisation greater than their own. But there was no empire and consequently no emperor. There were no libraries because there were no books ; and there were no books because there was no alphabet nor any substitute for one. There were a few manuscripts of picture signs for purposes of divination or magic, and some collections of pictures illustrating historical events ; place names were expressed phonetically by picture signs more or less conventionalized, but it never occurred to any Aztec that these signs might be used as a means to record words expressing ideas.

6. Mexico under the Spaniards was prosperous, and possessed educational and beneficent institutions far and beyond any contemporary nation. The radicals destroyed both prosperity and institutions, and when Americans see the present squalor and ignorance of the poor of Mexico the radicals charge it to the Catholic Church.

7. Mexico is admittedly 99 per cent. Catholic. Then why do they submit to this tyranny? Simply because an organised, armed, militant minority dominates an unorganised, unarmed, pacific majority. The minority is composed of unscrupulous radicals, who hesitate at no measure calculated to discourage their opponents. If it were possible for the Mexican people to surround themselves with some protection, they very soon would drive the radicals into the sea. Unfortunately the only obvious remedy is one that nobody cares to suggest, though it has been adopted more than once in favour of the radicals.

8. The new (1917) Mexican Constitution imposes various religious restrictions. For instance, Article 5 forbids "the establishment of monastic orders, of whatever denomination or for whatever purpose contemplated." Article 27 is typical of many, and may be quoted at greater length as a specimen :—

> "The religious institutions known as churches, irrespective of creed, shall in no case have legal capacity to acquire, hold or administer real property or loans made on real property; all such real property or loans as may be at present held by the said religious institutions, either on their own behalf or through third parties, shall vest in the Nation, and any one shall have the right to denounce property so held. Presumptive proof shall be sufficient to declare the denunciation well-founded. Places of public worship are the property of the Nation, as represented by the Federal Government, which shall determine which of them may continue to be devoted to their present purposes. Episcopal residences, rectories, seminaries, orphan asylums or collegiate establishments of religious institutions, convents or any other buildings built or designed for the administration, propaganda, or teaching of the tenets of any religious creed shall forthwith vest, as of full right, directly in the Nation, to be used exclusively for the public services of the Federation or of the States, within their respective jurisdictions. All places of public worship which shall later be erected shall be the property of the Nation.
>
> "Public and private charitable institutions for the sick and needy, for scientific research, or for the diffusion of knowledge, mutual aid societies or organisations formed for any other lawful purpose shall in no case acquire, hold or administer loans made on real property, unless the mortgage terms do not exceed ten years. In no case shall institutions of this character be under the patronage, direction, administration, charge or supervision of religious creeds or of their dependants, even though either the former or the latter shall not be in active service."

EBER COLE BYAM.

Chicago,
July 18, 1923.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE WEST

BY PATRICK J. GANNON, S.J.

OSWALD SPENGLER: *Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte.* Munich: Oskar Beck. Two vols. 1920–1922.

EINSTEIN'S name has travelled round the world; and he himself has followed it on a triumphal tour through England, America and Japan. His theory of Relativity has come to be discussed, I do not say understood, at evening tea-parties and in the interludes of whist-drives. But in Germany itself the Jewish professor and his work have not excited nearly as much interest and controversy as Oswald Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes—The Downfall of the West.* Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that no other book has created such a stir since Nietzsche's *Zarathustra.* The outer world has taken less notice of it. French criticism has been slight in volume and disdainful in tone; Italian a trifle more appreciative; Spanish still more sympathetic; English-speaking comment not unfriendly, but confined to the more serious periodicals, such as *The Times Literary Supplement, The Hibbert Journal, The Nation, The Contemporary Review,* and *The American Journal of Sociology.*

In the homeland, however, Spengler has become the centre of a veritable battle of books, brochures and articles. Indeed the thesis he defends has been deemed so dangerous to the mentality of the German nation in its present plight that the well-known philosophical periodical *Logos* has devoted a whole number of 300 pages (1920-

1921) to a series of articles by various specialists refuting his contentions in detail. Extravagantly praised and still more extravagantly condemned, he has at least succeeded in obtaining a sale for his work which, considering its size, its obscurity, and its depressing conclusions, is almost unprecedented. The readers of *Studies* may like to make the acquaintance of so peculiar a literary phenomenon.

How peculiar a phenomenon Spengler is may be gathered from this that all the criticism has not succeeded in deciding whether he is a seer or a charlatan, a scholar or a sciolist, a genius or a madman, a philosopher or a fool. It has on the whole rejected his theory ; but it is almost unanimous in admitting the extraordinary fascination exercised by the author's imaginative power and literary skill. A hostile critic puts it thus : " Perhaps there does not exist to-day a more erroneous book, or one more stimulating, richer or more living." There are certainly many pages in Spengler's writings which should secure him a place among the masters of German prose.

But the chief question remains : What of his thinking ? Is it right or wrong ? Has he made good his claim to be the Copernicus of History? Has he found at last the clue to the interpretation of the past and the present and to the prediction of the future ? For that is his modest pretension. Obviously, if he has succeeded, his place among the immortals is secure ; and even if he has failed, it will at least be failure in a high endeavour ; for his aim might almost be described as an effort to lift the veil of Isis. I might add that, if what he says be true, the lifting of the veil is about as pleasing an experience as the followers of Mokanna had when he unveiled his face.

Kant is styled the Copernicus of philosophy—rightly or wrongly we need not stay to decide—and Spengler imagines he has made a discovery relative to the interpretation of history similar in kind to those which revolutionised astronomy and modern philosophy. Hitherto we have lived in the darkness of a Ptolomaic system,

holding naive and childish notions akin to geocentrism. We understood world-history to be a development in a straight, unbroken line, which we split up arbitrarily into three parts and labelled Ancient, Medieval, Modern. We saw in it a continuous and widening stream, its sources shrouded a little in mystery, as were the sources of the Nile for earlier generations, but still one river-system of many affluents carrying down the fertilizing silt of the past to the many-mouthed delta of our own days. We regarded ourselves as the heirs of all the ages, the culminating point in the process, just as pre-Copernicans fancied the sun moved round the earth. Of course, well-informed minds were aware that many great achievements had been forgotten. There had been heroes before Achilles and builders before Sargon or the Pharaohs, and not a few discoveries had been made and lost again. Further, world-progress had suffered here and there partial set-backs. Local civilisations had been obliterated or merged into younger and more vigorous ones. We saw but dimly how Ancient India or China fitted into the scheme. But we were content in general to assume that an increasing purpose ran right down the ages. Very particularly in recent times, under the influence of that *idolum fori*, evolution, we felt the coherence and unity of the process. This is the very *idée mère* of Mr. Wells's grandiose attempt to tell us all about mankind since it wore woad and dwelt in caves. Hence we set great store by chronology, though we had much difficulty in deciding upon the line of demarcation between Ancient, Medieval, and Modern.

Now all this is to be changed. As Archimedes sought a fulcrum outside the earth by which to prise it from its hinges, Spengler seeks a sort of watchtower outside of time and space from which to study history. He would have us contemplate human life as one would view the earth from the moon through some monster telescope, seeing each part in turn spinning into our field of vision, differing indeed from the rest but equally important.

From this point of vantage he finds, as the outstanding characteristic of the vast and shifting panorama, the birth, development and decline not of a common human culture, moving forward through changing phases and perpetually enriching itself, but of many cultures in various times and places, rising, spreading, waning, and passing away in closed cycles; cultures that are similar, indeed, in their inner structure, but quite separate and independent of one another.

These must be studied morphologically as complete specimens. The various cycles are to be brought under the lens and compared, as one would do with plants or other living organisms. We shall then find a striking phenomenal resemblance in their growth, and we shall be able, from a study of their phases, to detect the fixed laws of their genesis, development, and decay; so that it will be possible, at any given time or place, to determine the stage at which the process has arrived and the stages that must follow.

Chronological tables are here as deceptive as, let us say, political maps would be for geological characteristics. In their stead our author furnishes us with charts which, under the titles of Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, group the features—spiritual, artistic, political—that correspond in the various cultures which have arisen and are known to us. In this novel arrangement Ancient Indian Culture, *i.e.*, Vedic (1500-1200 B.C.), Ancient Greek, *i.e.*, Homeric (1100-800 B.C.), Early Christianity (1-300 A.D.), and Germanic Catholicism (900-1200 A.D.) are *gleichzeitig* or contemporaneous in the sense of presenting the same features of early springtime. Similarly Indian Buddhism, Hellenistic-Roman Stoicism, the Practical Fatalism of Islam, and Ethical Socialism (spreading since the end of the nineteenth century) are morphologically contemporaneous and, in our author's reading of things, mark the winter or last stage in the progress of each cultural cycle. Hence it follows that, so far from being the heirs

of all the ages, we are rather the unhappy tail-end or old age of a single system not a whit more important in the history of humanity than the Egyptian, Chinese, Mayan, Arabian or Graeco-Roman specimens. It will thus be seen that it is not through any post-war pessimism Spengler concludes that our West-European civilisation is slowly moving to a not too distant and predetermined close. Indeed he is careful to inform us, in the introduction, that his theory had been thought out and, in its first draft, composed before the Great War began. The first volume was fully written by 1917, while he still expected a German victory.

Briefly stated, therefore, Spengler denies the unity of history and the progressive evolution of mankind. Neither denial is wholly new. But Spengler's denial of both is so radical and carried to such lengths as to distinguish him from his predecessors. Quite a host of forerunners have been discovered for him. But it is only fair to say that his system in its entirety *is* new. The first sentence of his introduction runs : " In this book, for the first time, an attempt is made to determine the course of history in advance "—not by prophetic inspiration, be it noted, but by scientific tests learned by analogy from the lessons of the past. This is surely new.

To establish his thesis he ranges over the whole history of civilised mankind. At first sight the display of knowledge is overpowering. But when the specialists in the various branches examine his statements they have some hard things to say about the limitations or downright inaccuracy of that knowledge.

In the 6,000 years more or less covered by historical records or monuments of any worth he discovers some eight great cultures, Indian, Egyptian, Chinese, Babylonian, Grecian and Graeco-Roman, Arabian, Mayan (*i.e.*, the ancient native culture of central America, Mexico, Peru), and finally Modern European. These he passes in review and finds them absolutely alike in the laws of

their development, but utterly independent of one another. Such evolution as he admits is entirely within the cycles, and is followed by an inevitable return to an undefined condition of *Urseelentum* (primordial soul-state), when the vast organism that is called a culture disintegrates and returns to the inorganic stage. Cultures move along parallel lines that never meet, or rather they describe parabolas, like star-shells from the same trajector, which are measured by the same formula and accomplish the same course, but are otherwise unrelated.

To the obvious objection that in sober fact these cycles did, in some instances, meet, overlap, and apparently interact on one another, borrowing and handing on, Spengler makes answer in his second volume. The souls of the various cultures are fundamentally different, and whatever is taken over is translated into something quite new. Only surface phenomena—words, formulae, symbols, external rites and usages—are borrowed. The difference of soul gives them a completely new meaning. Thus he writes: "One must follow, feature by feature, the 'influence' of Egyptian plastic art upon Ancient Grecian to realise at last that there is no influence at all. . . . . The more the principles of foreign thinking are praised, the more profoundly has the meaning been altered. . . . Indeed it is high time that the history of the three Aristotles should be written, the Grecian, the Arabian, and the Gothic, who have no single concept, no single thought in common" (II., p. 67). This proof or rather unproven assertion is reinforced by a reminder of the many things not borrowed, such as the Pyramids and the Sphinx. It is sound logic, apparently, to say, because not everything, then nothing.

Of considerable importance for our author's theory is the distinction he draws between culture and civilisation, which for most people are almost identical in connotation. Culture is *das Werdende*, the becoming, or history *in fieri*, as Scholasticism would say; civilisation is *das Gewordene*,

the become, or the result *in facto esse*, which is likewise *das Erstarrende*, the stiffening, rigidifying or atrophying. Civilisation is consequently the Autumn and early Winter of the process. Culture is spontaneous, unconscious, organic, dominated by the idea of destiny (*Schicksalsidee*), of which we shall hear more later on. Civilisation is artificial, intellectual, mechanical, and under the sway of the principle of causality. Its home is the vast world-city, where man grows materialistic, introspective, sceptical, tired, before losing all joy in life. The West is far advanced in this stage. Hence the title of the book.

From what has been said it will be seen that Spengler must demonstrate the entire independence of the various arts, sciences, philosophies and religions in the various cultures. He can, of course, make a certain plausible case for the half-truth (it is really nothing more) in regard to the arts, which respond naturally to spirit impulses and are certainly the most reliable index of a race's soul. But when he comes to the exact sciences, the attempt grows more questionable. His treatment of mathematics, for example, provokes not merely misgiving but plain denial. He regards mathematics not only as a science, but as an art, and metaphysics as well. Further, there is no single science of mathematics, gradually enlarging its frontiers and permanently retaining the territory rescued from the void, but several distinct sciences; and these bear an inner, intimate relation to the spirit of the culture in which they are found. They are one of the many self-expressions of that particular soul, and can only be understood in the light of the entire outlook on life, time, space, direction that prevails in the environment in which they arise. Thus Euclidean mathematics is the product of the Apollinic soul, that is, the soul of Ancient Greece which clung passionately to the Here and Now, and was entirely taken up with the study of individual, visible, tangible objects. Hence it deals exclusively with the measurement

of mass, quantity, and surface extension of perceptible bodies. It is, at bottom, nothing else than surface mensuration (I., p. 94). For the Greeks minus quantities and indeterminate functions had no meaning; their number-feeling (*Zahlgefühl*) embraced them not. With Diophantes (circa 250 A.D.) begins the "magical" mathematics of Arabian culture, Algebra, which is no longer chained to the sensible apprehension of surface extension and visible mass. With Descartes, whose geometry appeared in 1637, comes again a completely new number-idea (*Zahlenidee*). He destroys the inherited concept of quantity and sensible dimension, and replaces it by the mathematics of the point and the changing relation-worth of positions in space (I., p. 107). He begins also the analysis of infinitude, and in this he is but the representative of the Faustic soul[1] (*i.e.*, the soul of our modern West European culture), with its passionate yearning for far horizons and infinite space.

To the working out of these contrasts, which, be it remembered, are to prove the complete independence in fundamentals of the three mathematical sciences, fifty-four pages are devoted. Clearly only students of the higher mathematics are competent to criticize the theory with

[1] It is typical of the writer and perhaps of his age that the word "soul" rarely, if ever, has its literal, traditional meaning—certainly not the Christian meaning—but the metaphorical signification of corporate soul, which does not exist *a parte rei*, and is only a figure of speech to express the resultant of the striving and activities of many individual souls. Spengler starts from the supposition of a state of *Urseelentum*, a primordial condition not unlike the chaos over which, in Milton, the spirit of God sits brooding. Out of this primordial condition, in different times and places, a race-soul emerges, through some qualities in the blood of the people, sets out upon a cultural career, runs a course strictly predetermined by the character of the race, and then sinks back again into chaos and old night. For this exhausted state he invents the name Fellachentum (Fellaheendom), to express, apparently, that such a race is now an inert mass of humanity with no historical meaning or cultural significance. He calls the Greek soul Apollinic for reasons not too clear to me; the modern European soul (from about 1000 A.D.) he calls Faustic, because Dr. Faustus, with his restless, inquisitive, ambitious spirit, is its type. The Arabian soul seems so styled because it belongs to the Semitic peoples inhabiting the Arabian peninsula and much of what is styled the Cradle Lands. It has a far wider import than is usually intended.

authority. Prof. Erich Frank of Heidelberg does so very drastically in *Logos* (p. 222 *sqq.*). He objects entirely to the identification of Grecian mathematics in general with Euclid, which was after all only a school manual, though perhaps the best ever written (*ibid.*, p. 239). He admits that the peculiar differences existing, though not in the exaggerated form asserted, between Grecian, Arabian, and European mathematics must have their explanations in the souls of the three cultures; but protests against elevating this problem, interesting for the historian of the science, into a disproof of its unity.

We may leave the discussion to specialists in this branch of knowledge. But there is a philosophical and metaphysical question annexed which must be touched on. Spengler's attitude towards mathematics springs from his attitude towards the larger question of absolute, objective truth. For him no such thing exists; all the truth we possess is merely relative. Under all forms and categories it is but the subjective utterance of the corporate soul, the expression of its consciousness; and he pours indignant scorn upon the assumption of eternal, necessary verities. "Without subject," he writes, "there is no object. Even if we abstract from all theory to which philosophers have given a thousand shapes, it stands fast that the earth and sun, nature, space, the universe are a personal experience, and in their fixed identity (*So-und-nicht-anders-sein*) dependent on human consciousness" (I., p. 10). And again: "What the western thinker lacks, and what precisely he should not lack, is the insight into the historically relative character of his results, which are only the expression of one existence (*Dasein*), and merely the present one, the persuasion that his 'unalterable truths' and 'eternal truths' are true only for him and eternal only in his world-outlook; and that it is his duty to seek beyond for those ideas that man in other cultures has voiced out of his consciousness with the same certitude" (I., p. 31). "For the thinker, the genuine

thinker, there are no absolutely true or false standpoints" (I., p. 34).

This manner of writing is entirely foreign to what may be called the Latin tradition of thought, to what Mr. Hilaire Belloc would, not without reason, style the tradition of civilised men.[1] To the heirs of Aristotle (the Gothic, if you will) and of the Schoolmen at least it does appear hardly civilized thinking to deny the existence of objective truth and then write a book, or even advance any proposition whatever—both meaningless proceedings if there be no objective truth.

Every form of relativism or subjectivism strikes at the basis of philosophic inquisition by casting doubt upon the instrument of reason and the goal of all research. The quest of the Holy Grail remains romantic while you believe it hidden in some forest glade. But only a Don Quixote will set out upon this search when the discovery has been made that "prophets, priests and leaders all have lied." The doctrine of the relativity of all our truth has this ironic consequence that truth ceases to be even relative. Thought is paralysed when it is recognised to be the pursuit of "the light that never was on land or sea," a race after a phantom in a land of shades; and a sensible person will forego all claim to be "a genuine thinker" rather than believe or pretend to believe (for he can do no more) that the fixed identity of the sun is created by his eyes.

The next point of Spengler's teaching which calls for examination is his view of destiny (*Schicksal*). In a short pamphlet called *Pessimismus* (p. 6), he tells us: "The central point [of my system] is the idea of destiny (*Schick-*

[1] On reading Spengler I was vaguely reminded of Indian Brahminical and theosophical speculation. Later I came upon this confirmatory sentence in Edmund Mezger (*Logos*, p. 283): "To-day the sultry, obscure ideas, removed from reality (*Weltferne*), of Asiatic thinking and striving are breaking in on us with violence, and find in the dispositions of the age a willing ear." The cloudy Pantheism of modern metaphysics is really imperilling the sanity of Europe and leading to the suicide of philosophy.

salsidee). It is difficult to evoke it in the reader, for the reason that by the path of intellectual reflection only its contrary, the concept of causality, is discovered. . . . . Scientific thinking will never be capable of following here. . . . Destiny is a word the meaning of which must be felt." We may be excused from trying to analyse a concept which on analysis turns into its opposite. But we may be permitted to remark that this, too, is an example of uncivilised thinking. A concept which reflection transmutes into its opposite is, in German, an *Unding*, and, in plain English, nonsense. And this creates a great difficulty for the understanding of Spenglerism; for the idea of destiny is at once central in his system and indescribable. Out of his account of how he "feels" its meaning the following conclusions seem to flow (one cannot really be more positive). Destiny presides over *das Werdende*; Causality marshals *das Gewordene* into cause and effect, design and fulfilment. Causality introduces the idea of laws governing life, whereas life is really governed by destiny. The idea of destiny is primal; it is felt by primitive man and the man of culture. The idea of causality is late; it pertains to civilisation and is the product of the pure reason. It produces a sense of continuity in events not really present in the individual happenings. It is born of man's anxiety to overcome the might of destiny, to master the unintelligible fates. Hence it is not objectively in things, but subjectively in minds. Early man knows no causality-governed world. He had intuition of destiny, he felt the fates at work, he sensed the sweep and surge of things as among later men the believer, the lover, the artist and the poet do, but not the systematic thinker, student of nature, or man of abstract learning.

Our author repudiates the suggestion that he is a determinist, and in *Pessimismus* (p. 1) he tries to show that he is not a pessimist: "The suggestion of a catastrophe is not contained in the word *Untergang* (downfall).

If we substitute for it the word *Vollendung* (completion), an expression which in the mind of Goethe has a very precise meaning, then the pessimistic connotation is for the moment removed without the real sense of the word being altered." Yet here again, I am afraid, most readers will feel that death by any other name will smell of the grave. And one fails to see by what exegesis determinism and pessimism can be excluded from his interpretation of life. Cultures rise and fall in such a way that, from the comparison of past specimens, we can foresee and foretell exactly the fate of the existing one. This surely amounts to a denial of free-will. It follows, and Spengler admits as much, that his great discovery helps us in no degree to alter our lot. The only result will be that, unlike earlier generations who floundered on without it, we shall move along the path of doom with a consciousness of what is coming. For it is precisely the function of history to anticipate the processes it cannot alter. If this be not the Ἀνάγκη of the Greeks and the *dira necessitas* of Horace, what is it? And that, if accepted, it would benumb our energies is surely clear. For, however mysterious be the operation of free-will, however uniform its results in masses under similar conditions, all human endeavour is based upon the instinctive belief that there are various avenues perpetually opening up before individuals and communities, some one of which they choose and render actual by the exercise of a self-determination which is real and undeniable, explain it how we will.

But for Spengler that which becomes actual was alone possible, and what is now possible is inevitable and must be fulfilled. A purposeless *Erdengang* or cosmic process enfolds us in its vast embrace and sweeps us onward, as some powerful ocean-current carries struggling swimmers whithersoever it listeth. Teleology in this world movement is according to him a naive and even fatuous notion. "The false concept (*Missbegriff*) of Teleology, the silliest of all silly ideas in pure science" (I., p. 169). It necessarily

follows that the purpose of the individual is only a mechanical striving to which a pathetic illusion gives the semblance of free-choice.

Short extracts and summarizing statements always involve the risk of injustice to a writer, especially when he is at once highly imaginative, original and involved. It will be well then to let him speak himself at some length. The following passages seem to me to contain the very kernel of his thesis :—

> A culture is born at the moment when a great soul awakes out of the original soul-state of mankind's eternal infancy and breaks away, a form out of the formless, a defined and passing thing out of the undefined and enduring. It blooms in the soil of a clearly defined territory, in which it remains rooted like a plant. A culture dies when it has fulfilled the sum of its possibilities in the shape of peoples, languages, beliefs, arts, states, sciences, and then returns to the primordial soul-state (*Urseelentum*). (I., p. 153).

Then follows a long account of its infancy, youth, maturity, old-age and senile decay, as seen in its achievements in the arts, sciences, in politics and religion. He next passes to the homology or similitude of the various phases in the various cycles, and proceeds :—

> From the homology of historical phenomena there follows at once a completely new concept. I call contemporaneous (*gleichzeitig*) two facts of history that, in different cultures, appear in precisely the same relative position and therefore have an exactly corresponding significance. It has been shown that the development of ancient and modern mathematics followed strictly concurrent lines. And the case is typical. We can thus call Pythagoras contemporaneous with Descartes, Plato with Laplace, Archimedes with Gauss. Ionic and Barocco appear at the same time. Polygnotus and Rembrandt, Polycletus and Bach are contemporaries. Contemporaneous also in all cultures is the moment when the metamorphosis to civilisation takes place. In the ancient world this epoch bears the names of Philip and Alexander ; in the West the homologous period enters in with the French Revolution and Napoleon. (I., p. 161).

I hope to prove that, without exception, all the great creations

and forms of religion, art, politics, society, economics, science in all cultures arise, reach completion, and pass away contemporaneously ; that the inner structure of one corresponds perfectly with that of all the rest ; that there is no single phenomenon of profound physiognomical importance in the historical picture of the one which has not its counterpart in the others, and that, too, in strictly significant form and rigidly fixed position. Certainly to understand this morphological similitude of two phenomena a penetration of thought is necessary, an independence from the outward appearance of the foreground, very different from what has been hitherto customary with historians, who would never let one guess that Protestantism finds its prototype in the Dionysiac movement, and that English Puritanism in the West answers to Islamism in the Arabian world.

From this standpoint a possibility manifests itself, far surpassing the ambition of all previous historical research, which restricted itself substantially to the task of arranging in order of succession the events of the past in as far as they were known—the possibility, namely, of going beyond the present as limit of inquiry and of fixing the phases of history not yet accomplished, according to type, measure, meaning and result ; nay, further, of reconstructing, by the aid of morphological connection, long-vanished and forgotten epochs, and even whole cultures of the past. (I., p. 162-3.)

He then claims that this is the genuine Goethe-like method of contemplating history, based upon the poet's detection of the similarity between the evolution of a culture and the growth of a plant. He thus avows himself a disciple of Weimar.[1] His critics have been unkind enough to add that he has borrowed plumes from other unacknowledged sources. Thus Dr. Heim of Tübingen points out that Hegel has been before him in portraying world-history as a biological process resembling organic growth, without, however, denying its unity. Dr. Goetz Briefs, again, traces his distinction between culture and civilisation, as well as many of his views on sociology, to a work by Herr Tönnies entitled *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Second Edition, Berlin, 1912). We may add that the

[1] In *Pessimismus* he himself discovers the parentage of his ideas to be : Leibnitz-Goethe-Hegel.

Italian jurist, Giovanni Vico (1668-1744), in his *Scienza Nuova,* was long before him in the theory of various cycles all similar and independent, with its implied denial of progress.[1]

Yet, perhaps, Goethe after all is his chief teacher, and particularly in *Wahrheit und Dichtung.* At least the title would suit Spengler's work perfectly; for it is a strange amalgam of Truth and Poetry. Indeed the author could hardly take umbrage at the suggestion, for he writes: "*Natur soll man wissentschaftlich traktieren, über Geschichte soll man dichten*"—"Nature should be dealt with scientifically, history poetically" (I., p. 139). This is no gratuitous paradox; it is strictly consistent with his whole outlook. The inspiration and intuition of the poet get nearer to the heart of things than cold reason or the stringing together of past events like beads upon a wire. The seer-spirit senses the earth-forces in their volcanic energy shaping life; chroniclers collect only lava-ashes from which the vital heat has passed away. We make history under the influence of destiny; we write it under the tyranny of its opposite, the principle of causality. Hence "the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling" penetrates to the soul of life, while the historian can give us nothing but a museum of mummies.

The reader has now before him the main theme of the work and the most salient features of the new philosophy of history. Doubtless he will immediately assent to the nearly unanimous verdict of "not-proven" which the critics have passed. He may even wonder how so fantastic a mind-product could create a furore at all. Perhaps the fact that the German race is in the valley of humiliation counted for a good deal in the *succès fou* which the first volume at least has had. Doubtless, also, German metaphysics since Kant had prepared the ground. *The Critique of Pure Reason* struck a very deadly blow at the objective

[1] *Cf. Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Vol. 28 (11th ed.), p. 24.

value of the results of reason. Since that time philosophy in the fatherland has been raising its structures on quicksands. Many of the critics who assailed Spengler had little logical right to do so. Catholic Germany alone had solid earth beneath its feet, and was strictly justified in repudiating his whole interpretation of life.

Repudiated, indeed, that interpretation deserves to be; for it robs life of any adequate purpose or satisfactory meaning. It is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of Oriental thought and would assuredly lead Europe to despair. Spengler means well.; he is no Mephistopheles. Yet he reminds one of the wicked spirit in the *Faerie Queene* who, in the disguise of a hermit, seeks to lure a knight to suicide by chanting in soporific verse the peace and beatitude of the tomb. There is something evil in these volumes, whether intended or not.

But that need not prevent us from acknowledging the peculiar power of the writer. The brief exposition of his theory, to which the limits of an article confine me, is all the more inadequate as an indication of his qualities, for the reason that his merits lie rather in the details than in the broad lines of his work. Certain portions of it, particularly of the second volume, do really fascinate. Thus, in Chapter II., the section on the Soul of the City, the pen-pictures of Cretan and Mycenean civilisations, the account of the transition from nomadic life to peasant-proprietorship, the description of the further evolution to city-life, when history really begins, and of the final evolution into the world-city—Babylon, Carthage, Rome, London, New York—when the evening shadows fall, are all delightful reading. Hardly less arresting, though much less pleasing, are the two final chapters—*Der Staat* and *Die Formenwelt des Wirtschaftslebens*. Here Spengler is most perturbing, because most penetrating. He seems in fact to see the social, political, and economic life of nations with X-ray eyes. The outward flesh grows faint and shadowy, but

the skeleton stands revealed in all its mysterious articulation and uncanny shape.

Yet how deadly for all our hopes and idealisms are these pages, glittering with paradox and epigram, and rising at times to a sombre eloquence! What scorn he pours on the whole tribe of *Weltverbesserer* (world-improvers), ideologues, Marxian socialists, league-of-nations dreamers, and millenarian fools, who never yet exercised any real influence upon the course of events. Blood, race, tradition make the real moulders of history, men or communities, especially aristocracies like the English ruling classes, who care nothing for theoretic cobweb-weaving, but have "tact," that is, the *flair* for reality, and pursue their end, which is power, remorselessly, untiringly, unfalteringly and always with success. These count; the rest are Babel-builders. But let us hear himself:—

> Right is the property of the mighty. His right is the right of all. Gold is the strongest weapon of the ambitious. With it he subdues the world. (II., p. 427). Spiritual and worldly power are quantities of so different an order and tendency that a reconciliation or even an understanding between them seems impossible. (II., p. 437). A people is a reality only in relation to other peoples. And this reality exists in natural and irremovable opposition, attack, defence, hostility, war. War is the creator of all things great. Everything of significance in the stream of life comes into being through triumph and defeat. (II., p. 448). In historical reality there are no ideals, only facts. There are no principles, no justice, no accommodation, no goal; there are only facts. Whosoever does not understand this should write books about politics, but not deal in politics. In the actual world there are no states built according to ideals; but only states produced by growth, and these are simply living peoples in form[1] . . . . . They are developed either by gifts of statesmanship in the direction given in the blood of the race, or else by idealists in the direction of their theories, that is, towards nullity. (II., p. 456). There is no proletarian or even communistic movement that does not, without the

[1] The word is used in its athletic significance, as we speak of a runner or a boxer in form.

least suspicion of the fact on the part of the idealists among its leaders, work in the interest of wealth, in the direction wealth desires, and as long as it desires. The mind thinks, wealth guides. *Der Geist denkt, das Geld lenkt.* (II., p. 502).

We may cherish our wishes as we will, but we should have the courage to see things as they are. That shows the man of race through whose existence alone history exists. Life is hard, if it will be great. The choice lies between triumph and defeat, not between peace and war; and the sacrifices demanded by victory pertain to victory. (II., p. 538). From the hardness of facts there is no escape. The Peace Conference at the Hague in 1907 was the prelude to the World War; the Conference of Washington in 1921 will prove the prelude to fresh wars. History to-day is no longer a genial game according to rules for a little more or less, from which one could at any moment withdraw. To stand fast or disappear —there is no other alternative. The only lesson taught by the logic of facts is that of the mountain climber on a sheer gradient. A moment of weakness and all is over. (II., p. 539). To be in form is everything. It is question of the most trying time, which the history of a high culture knows. The last race in form, the last living tradition, the last leader that has both behind him will march triumphant to the goal. (II., p. 540).

These are hard sayings, and who can hear them? Spengler has many such, and unfortunately history has a knack of translating them into reality. He concludes that gold is now celebrating its greatest victory in Faustic culture, but its last. Soon Caesarism will arrive, and with that civilisation ends; the West shall have fallen. Against this is set the birth of a new culture in Russia, where next a young soul is to set out on a career like the Apollinic, the Arabic and the Faustic in the eternal stream of Time. This is not due to Bolshevism, which is only the barbaric but instinctive revolt of an Oriental soul that has been forced since Peter the Great into the scheme of an utterly foreign culture. Dostoviesky, the authentic prophet of Russia, will prevail over Tolstoi, the evangelist of Petrinismus, and a new order will arise. As for us, we have only got to submit—*Ducunt fata volentem, nolentem trahunt.*

P. J. Gannon.

AN IRISH AMBASSADOR AT THE SPANISH COURT, 1569–1574

BY DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A.

V—Archbishop MacGibbon in Paris[1]

IN order to follow the career of Archbishop MacGibbon, we are compelled in this article to pass beyond the boundaries originally fixed by the general title of the series. The reason for doing so, however, will soon be apparent. Spain, as we have said, was the real centre of Irish activity, and it is with the course of Ireland's relations with Spain that these articles are concerned. But the remarkable episode we are about to describe is so closely interwoven with the Spanish negotiations that it may well be treated as forming part of them.

The episode itself is too interesting to be omitted, although its importance has been exaggerated by some historians.[2] It has been hailed as a further proof—if proof were needed—of Irish treachery; and Archbishop MacGibbon, the central figure in the story, has been represented as offering to sell his country and his friends in return for the favour of the English Queen. These writers were not necessarily dishonest, for a hasty reading of the evidence tends to confirm their impression. The spectacle of the Irish envoy conversing with an English ambassador is by no means reassuring, and his motive in doing so remains a mystery which will never be finally solved unless a search in the archives of France, Spain or Rome elicits fresh information. One thing, however, stands out clearly on a careful perusal of the evidence at our disposal: whatever may have been his reasons for this questionable procedure, MacGibbon was no traitor

[1] For Parts I-IV see issues of Sept. and Dec. 1921, March 1922 and March 1923.

[2] *e.g.*, Bagwell: *Ireland under the Tudors*, II., 205.

to his country. The story as preserved in the letters of Walsingham and the conduct of the Archbishop both during and after his conversations will, we think, fully justify this conclusion.

Towards the close of January, 1571, Archbishop MacGibbon left the Spanish capital, crossed the frontier, and arrived in Paris early in March. Francis Walsingham, one of the ablest British diplomatists of any age, had just been appointed ambassador in France, and during the year which followed—a year fraught with danger for England—he steered his course through the troubled waters of European politics with consummate skill. The situation, as he found it, was indeed menacing. Elizabeth's instability was driving France to desperation; she had encouraged the Duke of Anjou's suit with every appearance of sincerity, and now it seemed as if she would jilt him almost at the altar, and make him and his family the laughing-stock of Europe; her Huguenot friends hung their heads for shame, while the King and the Queen-Mother leaned ominously towards the house of Guise. The latter had recovered much of its lost influence, and the population of Paris regarded it with sentiments akin to adoration; it excelled the Huguenot faction in numbers, in organisation, in popularity, and even Charles and Catherine de Medici, who wished well to neither party, were being goaded by Elizabeth's inconsequent behaviour into unwilling agreement with its aims. Nor was any attempt made to conceal its hatred of England. Day in, day out, its leaders worked with might and main for an alliance with the Catholic king against the heretic; and but a few months before they had organised a private expedition to Ireland. This expedition was supposed to be but the forerunner of greater things. Immediately after his arrival Walsingham realised the dangers which would result if the Irish intrigues were pursued with such success as they had hitherto been. Judge, therefore, of the ambassador's feelings when, on the evening of March

24th, two servants of the Archbishop of Cashel waited upon him and asked him to arrange a time when their master might see him.

The shrewd Walsingham, to whom MacGibbon's name was already familiar, dissembled his surprise, told them that their master would be "very welcome whensoever he should come," and promised to remain at home for the next few days in the hope of meeting him. Accordingly, on the following evening, the man who had been regarded as one of the most dangerous enemies of England was ushered into the ambassador's presence.

Greetings were exchanged, and the Archbishop proceeded to state the reasons for this rather surprising visit. He began by attempting to excuse his sudden departure from Ireland about two years before; he had been deprived of his living and another substituted in his place, "whom he confessed to have outraged before his departure." This, he said, drew upon him the Lord Deputy's displeasure, and so "necessity enforced him to depart to seek maintenance some other where." Walsingham suavely remarked that "his confession of his fault was an argument of penitence," and that, should he humbly seek pardon, he would doubtless obtain it from her Majesty, "who hath always been more naturally inclined to remit than to avenge." Then MacGibbon, having answered a few questions, launched forth into the story of Stukely's arrival in Spain, of the Archbishop's refusal to bring him to the King, of his own interviews with the king and the Duke of Feria, and the rupture with Stukely which followed. Next he explained his reasons for leaving Spain; "he saw great likelihood," he said, "that this enterprise should go forward, and therefore would be loath, as one descended from the house of Desmond, to be suspected by his abode there to be a favourer of the said enterprise, hating nothing more than the name of traitor."

If he expected to deceive Walsingham by this clumsy

explanation, he had vastly underestimated the character of his hearer. But the ambassador was too clever to manifest his real opinion of the story. "I made always show unto him," he writes, "to believe whatsoever he said, as though I had never heard of him before nor of his proceedings." He now addressed himself to the Archbishop, thanking him for his recital, which should be forwarded to Elizabeth, and expressing an earnest hope that his promises were sincere :—

I shewed him that her Majesty was neither ignorant nor unprovided of the remedy, notwithstanding that I did assure him that her Majesty could not but take it in good part if his meaning and words agreed, both his withdrawing himself from thence, as also that he did discover unto me, her minister here, what he knew touching the same. I prayed him, therefore, to use plainness with me, and told him that if it fall out otherwise : first, he should be reputed a traitor, and as little trusted of those whose turn he should seek to serve, it being held as a common rule that a traitor to his own country became never true to another ; secondarily, that if he were a partaker of the enterprise, the matter would be provided for, and so their attempt not likely to take effect, whereby he should grow odious to those that he should procure to enter into the same. And lastly, I willed him to consider what benefit would grow to Ireland, his country, if it should be reduced to the Spanish government, who doth rule altogether by tyranny, as divers of the countries where they do govern witness, whereof he as a traveller could not be ignorant ; whereas now they enjoy as great a liberty as any nation doth ; and if there be any defect, it proceedeth from themselves, who cannot yield to embrace such good orders as her Majesty, careful for their benefit, had sought lately to place there amongst them to reduce them from Barbarousness to Civility.

The Archbishop was not greatly impressed by this judicious mixture of threats and cajolement. He contented himself with an assurance that her Majesty would find him sincere, and proceeded to lay down his conditions. "If it shall please her Majesty," he said, "so far forth to be my good and gracious Lady and Sovereign as, for that my successor [1] is dead, to restore me to my country

[1] *i.e.*, McCaghwell.

and place, I will then give in writing to you, her ambassador here, both the manner of the conspiracy as also the remedy." Walsingham promised to convey this offer to his mistress, but deprecated the idea of MacGibbon's immediate return to Ireland, which, "considering the suspicion conceived of him, would breed some doubt of his sincerity; for it might be thought that his coming home now was rather to give notice to the evil-disposed subjects of his country how things passed in Spain." Subsequent events more than justified this argument; but the Archbishop cleverly parried it by remarking that, "if he meant any such matter, he might have gone directly from Spain into Ireland." He next spoke of Cecil—lately created Lord Burghley—who, he feared, had been prejudiced against him by letters from Huggins. Walsingham, realising that this was an attempt to draw information from him, feigned complete ignorance of the spy's existence, and assured his visitor that Burghley would not lightly condemn any man and that "none would be more ready to further him in getting her Majesty's favour," if he should prove to be sincere. Having thus baffled MacGibbon's curiosity, he questioned him as to Stukely's movements, and learned that the latter would hardly start before the end of April and that, if rumour were to be believed, Julian Romers had been appointed to accompany him. Nothing more was to be said for the present. The Archbishop asked to have an answer to his offer within twenty days; the ambassador promised, if possible, to meet his wish; and with expressions of mutual satisfaction the interview ended.

Walsingham, with every detail of the conversation fresh in his mind, wrote a lengthy account of it to Burghley, that the latter might "the better judge of the matters and the man." For his own part, he had not had time to form a considered judgment as to the Archbishop's intentions, but was strongly inclined to suspect that he meant no good. Four reasons, he said, pointed to this

conclusion. "Firstly, I am informed that two Irishmen sent from him out of Spain were the cause of Roche's enterprise; secondarily, I am also informed that he was sent for out of Spain by the Cardinal of Lorraine; thirdly, for that he wisheth the young boy James Fitzmorice's son in Spain, that is now at Brest in Brittany; lastly, I do not forget his nation and religion." As against this formidable array of proofs, he could only think of one reason why the Archbishop might be in good faith. "The only hope I have of him is that he mislikes Stukely to have the glory of the enterprise that he first set himself, and would be glad to do anything which might impeach the same." For the rest, he bade his superiors not to worry; he would place certain trusty sleuth-hounds upon the prelate's track and, aided by their investigations, would be able before long to give "a great guess" at the cause of his coming.[1]

Shortly afterwards the Archbishop visited another Englishman. The exigencies of the European situation had compelled Elizabeth to seek a reconciliation with Spain, and Sir Henry Cobham was dispatched to Madrid to negotiate a peace with the Catholic King, one of the conditions of which was to be the expulsion of all Irish exiles from the Spanish Court. Cobham came by way of Paris, presumably with the intention of consulting Walsingham. On his arrival in the French capital MacGibbon waited upon him, and renewed the offer which he had made to the English ambassador. "He desires," wrote Cobham, "to be restored to her Majesty's favour, and offers to forsake King Philip's pension of 2,000 crowns, so as he may enjoy his own patrimony in Ireland"; and he guaranteed further to supply the government with information as to the intrigues of Stukely and Gueran de Spes.[2] Sir Henry, who had perhaps already heard of

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, March 26, 1571, *Compleat Ambassador*, pp. 58-61.
[2] Cobham to Burghley, April 3, *For. Cal.*, 1569-71, p. 425.

the matter, referred him back to Walsingham as the proper agent through whom to make his petition.

The ambassador's suspicion of MacGibbon's intentions hardened into certainty as he watched his subsequent conduct. Determined not to lose sight of him for a moment, he had appointed a clever spy to dog his footsteps. This was a certain Captain Thomas Bathe, a renegade Irishman of the Pale, whose cunning and dexterity had been more than once invaluable to Walsingham. By the latter's instructions Bathe repaired to the Archbishop's lodgings a few days after the interview, and represented himself as only too willing to do any service for a fellow-countryman. The guileless Archbishop accepted his offer with delight, and from that moment Walsingham was informed of all his movements. They were of a nature which left little doubt of his real objects. His first request to Captain Thomas was to " procure him access to the Cardinal of Lorraine," the leader of the Guise faction and the determined enemy of England. The captain, having consulted his paymaster, made the necessary arrangements for an interview and accompanied MacGibbon to the Cardinal's house, in high hopes of discovering the whole conspiracy. But he was disappointed; the Archbishop, with quite unusual prudence, insisted on conversing with the Cardinal alone; and his companion, who was left in another room, could only conjecture from the length of the interview—which was over two hours—that something of extreme importance was being discussed. All his tact failed to elicit from MacGibbon any inkling of the conversation which had passed between them. The Archbishop merely informed him that the Cardinal had expressed a wish to see him also.

This, at all events, was consoling news; and the instructions which MacGibbon was careful to give him revived the captain's hope of getting to the bottom of this mysterious business. The prelate hinted to him that, as he valued his future prosperity, he should answer his

Eminence's enquiries by praising MacGibbon to the stars, as " a man of noble family and great reputation in his own country." If he were questioned as to the state of Ireland, he was to say that the country was " weak and easy to be gotten by the enemy." The peculiar nature of these instructions was not lost upon Captain Thomas, who immediately sought out Walsingham and acquainted him with the whole matter. A clever device was now hit upon between the two men for discrediting the Irish Archbishop. Two days afterwards Bathe was summoned to the Cardinal's presence, and, in accordance with the ambassador's orders, his answers were directly opposite to those in which MacGibbon had primed him. Questioned as to the latter, he was too clever to deny that he was related to Desmond, but pointed out that the heads of his family were in prison, and that he himself was " of no such credit and reputation whereby he might do much for his country." As for Ireland, he said that it was by no means so weak as the Archbishop had represented, but rather that " whosoever should attempt anything against it should find it able enough to resist a multitude, now that her Majesty had caused certain ships to go on the sea, and appointed garrisons." As a result of this conversation the Cardinal grew suspicious of MacGibbon, and Walsingham was able to announce gleefully that " he maketh not that account of the Archbishop which he looked for at his hands." The luckless Irish diplomatist, in discredit with the Cardinal and completely out-manoeuvred by the skilful tactics of Elizabeth's ambassador, now began to feel the pinch of want. From an intercepted letter of his, Walsingham discovered this and determined to reopen negotiations, hoping this time to find him more tractable.

He was anticipated, however, by the prelate himself, who shortly afterwards requested that he should send some " trusty servant " to interview him. Walsingham, although he was at a loss to understand this singular method of dealing, dispatched a confidential agent, whom

he warned to be as discreet as possible and to report the Archbishop's conversation in full. This was, as he suspected, an attempt to glean further information. The envoy, whose name has not survived, greeted MacGibbon politely, and told him that his master hoped to have the Queen's answer in the course of a few days, and that meanwhile he would promise on his honour to treat any communication, whether by word of mouth or in writing, with absolute secrecy.

The Archbishop, however, was improving at this game, and he met Walsingham's suave promises with assurances equally smooth. "I thank my Lord Ambassador," he said, "in that it pleaseth his Lordship thus honourably to deal with me, and that if by his good means I might be brought into my Prince's favour and enjoy my living, I should think myself most bound to him; and besides I will make him privy of all Stukely's practices." He then proceeded to the real business of the interview, that of squeezing information from the ambassador's agent. He began with what looked an innocent question as to whether the government were sending an envoy to Spain. The discreet servant replied that he did not know. MacGibbon, hoping to deceive him, remarked that he had heard so from Walsingham, which was quite untrue. The other, however, was not to be drawn into debate. "It may well be so," he answered, "but I know nothing thereof." Still angling for news, the Archbishop embarked upon a lengthy disquisition to show the necessity for sending such an envoy, saying that there were many English and Irish traitors at the Spanish Court. Finding his efforts in vain, he abruptly switched the conversation on to Elizabeth's intended marriage with Anjou. "Surely," he said emphatically, "if the match go not forward between her Majesty and Monsieur, it is to be feared that he will join with the King of Spain." His surmise was accurate enough, but Walsingham's agent had no intention of acknowledging the danger. Monsieur,

he told the Archbishop, was governed completely by the wishes of his brother, King Charles, who was most cordially disposed towards the English Queen. MacGibbon affected to be relieved at this announcement. "I beseech God," he said, "they may long continue in amity."

Despite all his manoeuvres he had learnt nothing, and it was therefore with some asperity that he informed the ambassador's messenger of his future intentions. Until her Majesty's pleasure was known he was content to remain in Paris. If she was pleased to forgive him and allow him to return to Ireland, he would be able to effect much good in that country; all the nobility, he blandly asserted, were of some affinity to him and would be "much ruled by his counsel." On the other hand, his language was distinctly threatening when speaking of her possible refusal to treat with him. "If I cannot obtain this benefit of her Majesty," he said stiffly, "after I have despatched my business here, I will return into Spain, where I have been most honourably entertained at the King's hands."[1]

Meanwhile Elizabeth and her council had been considering his offer. The ambassador's letter, announcing his interview, had occasioned not a little interest, and it was generally agreed that MacGibbon's proposal was one which merited the most careful deliberation. He might well, of course, "intend treachery"; but even if he did, there was no harm in a further parley; and on the other hand, the possibility that he was sincere could not be ignored. Sir Henry Sidney, the Deputy, had just arrived in England, and on being questioned reported that he had heard that there was "great jarre between that prelate and Prince Stukely,"[2] which suggested an explanation of the former's conduct. The idea which was uppermost in Elizabeth's mind, however, was to lure him to England, where he might be dealt with according to his deserts.

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, April 4, *Compleat Amb.*, pp. 73-75.
[2] Leicester to Walsingham, April 22, *ibid.*, p. 82.

To secure this, she instructed her ambassador to go any lengths in promising concessions :—

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have perceived by your letter, written to the Lord of Burleigh, in what sort you have lately conferred with an Irishman naming himself the Archbishop of Cashel, upon occasions sought by him to make his submission and suit to us for his offence in departing out of Ireland. And considering the conditions of the party, and the profit that might follow by his discovering of the practices wherewith he is so thoroughly acquainted, we can be content if you find it likely that he meaneth dutifully to ask pardon, as he pretendeth by his speech, that then you shall give him comfort to continue with the same dutifulness and royal meaning ; and provoke him to make repair hitherto into England, where, you may assure him, he shall not find lack of grace if he humbly desire it, and by his truth hereafter deserve it. And if you find him very difficult to be persuaded with such general speech, without further assurance from us, you shall say that you have written so effectually unto us, with affirmation of your good liking of his dealing with you in so plain terms as he had done, as ye have power from us to warrant him to come to this our realm safely, and to make his means unto us for our favour ; that if he shall show himself repentant of his former fault, and disposed to live hereafter dutiful, he shall be provided of as good a living as heretofore he hath had ; and if he shall not obtain our favour, as he desireth, at his coming, your warrant shall serve him to return safely out of our realm ; which manner of usage you shall say is very rare in us, but upon your instance we have yielded thereunto. And so we pray you use it, and give him warrant under your hand accordingly. And if you shall find that he hath sought to abuse you, as we perceive by your letters you have some reason to doubt, then shall you forbear to deal with him in the former sort, and yet procure so much intelligence as you may at his hands ; and after you shall discover his continuance in falsehood and practice there, as you can see occasion and gather matter with him, so deal with the King there, as by all good means that may be—specially considering the amity so often of late times assured to us by the King—he may be delivered as an open known rebel and traitor, especially in these practices used by him in Spain, however he himself hath discovered these evils with the excuses. . . .[1]

Not even her worst enemy can be blind to Elizabeth's

[1] Elizabeth to Walsingham, April 8, *ibid.*, p. 76.

genius for intrigue, and never was it so clearly exemplified as in her handling of the present situation. It seemed as if she had closed all paths of escape to the Archbishop of Cashel. If he had seriously intended to abandon his plotting against her rule, let him come to England and sue for pardon; if he was inclined to baulk at this risky proposition, the ambassador might offer him a safe-conduct. In either case the result would have been the same; Elizabeth was too hardened a politician to allow such minor considerations as truth or honour to interfere with her interests, and although the letter had maintained a discreet silence as to what would happen once this turbulent cleric was within her grasp, little doubt could be entertained on the matter. On the other hand, if his offer was not sincere, and if it were shown that his purpose in the negotiations was merely to stir up further trouble both in Ireland and in France, then the ambassador was to request the French King for his extradition as a rebellious subject of the British Crown. Nor did it seem likely that Charles would refuse, desperately anxious as he was to secure Elizabeth as a sister-in-law. The Queen might, therefore, congratulate herself upon a device which, whatever the Archbishop's intentions, would place him in her power and compel him to reveal his secrets.

MacGibbon's intrigues in Paris need have occasioned little fear to Elizabeth. He had pitted his wits against those of the most skilful diplomatist in Europe, and the result of this unequal contest could not be long delayed. Even before the receipt of her letter, as Walsingham joyfully announced, "the Archbishop's enterprise was quite overthrown."

However, the anti-English forces in the Council might at any moment carry the day, and the policy of match-making would be changed for that of the sword. It was, therefore, with no little anxiety that Walsingham learned that no less a person than Anjou himself had expressed a desire to confer with MacGibbon. Recalling the curiosity

which the latter had manifested as regards the progress of Elizabeth's matrimonial concerns, the ambassador could only conclude that his object in seeing the Duke was to denounce the English Queen. At all costs, he decided, the interview must be prevented ; and once again the simplicity of the Archbishop played into his hands.

Doubtless MacGibbon had been at a loss to understand the changed demeanour of the Cardinal of Lorraine. To any man possessed of an average amount of worldly wisdom, the fact that this change dated from the Cardinal's interview with Captain Bathe would have been sufficient ground for suspecting the latter ; yet no suspicion of his new acquaintance seems to have entered the Archbishop's mind. Captain Thomas had wound himself into his confidence and was now his constant attendant, of whose ability and devotion he entertained the highest opinion. Accordingly, when the cunning spy suggested that he should be dispatched to arrange with Monsieur for the forthcoming interview, the prelate readily assented.

Captain Thomas, now sufficiently experienced to dispense with Walsingham's instructions, went immediately to the palace of Anjou, with whom he had already a slight acquaintance. As he had hoped, the Duke recognised him and began to ply him with questions about Ireland, to all of which the Captain returned the same answers as he had already given the Cardinal. In addition, Monsieur enquired " if the country were fruitful, and what commodity the Queen's Majesty received by the same "— from which it may reasonably be inferred that one of the Archbishop's proposals had been that Anjou should be given the crown of Ireland in return for abandoning his wooing of Elizabeth. The captain's reply has a familiar sound : " The country was very poor, and her Majesty was at continual and yearly charges in the keeping of the same, without receiving any commodity from thence." The Duke, marvelling perhaps at such unprofitable altruism on England's part, next questioned the spy as to

MacGibbon's character and antecedents, and received a reply which was little calculated to reassure him. "The Archbishop," said Captain Thomas, "had been banished out of his country for certain disorders there committed, and since his departure from thence had been in divers countries, seeking at Princes' hands such relief as he might get, bearing them in hand that he is able to do much in his country."

Anjou fell into the trap; the captain was already known to him, and he was more inclined to accept his version than that of the Irish prelate whom he had never met in his life. Thinking the latter to be a mere adventurer, he decided to abandon further dealings with him. To the renegade who had poisoned his mind against him he gave a message for MacGibbon to the effect that, as he was presently "entertained in Council with matters of great weight," he feared that "he should not be at any leisure to confer with him;" but that if he lacked anything, "he would be happy to be a mean unto the King for the same." The message, although couched in polite terms, was a clear intimation to the Archbishop that Monsieur had refused to think further of his offer. Nothing, therefore, could be done save to enlist his support in securing a subsidy from the Court which would cover the prelate's immediate needs; and accordingly MacGibbon acquainted him by letter of his extreme want, and besought him for financial relief. The Duke was as good as his word, and a few days later forwarded a present of two hundred crowns.

Beaten on every point by the superior diplomacy of England, the poor Archbishop might well feel in a chastened mood; and Walsingham anticipated little difficulty in luring him to Elizabeth's court. A few days after this latest reverse, the ambassador acquainted him with the substance of the Queen's letter, and used every argument he could think of to persuade him to repair to England, "showing him that her Majesty had promised

grace and pardon if he should humbly desire it at her hands." Noting, however, that the Archbishop seemed little impressed by assurances of her Majesty's good intentions, Walsingham was compelled to play his second card and offered him a safe-conduct. For the moment MacGibbon seemed to be impressed, and to the ambassador's joy readily assented to this proposition. But Walsingham's exultation was short-lived; on mature deliberation the Archbishop repented of his foolish credulity. Even if the ambassador were sincere, Elizabeth would be troubled with no such scruples, and considering —like Falstaff—that honour was "but a word," would have little hesitation in breaking it. "By what sinister council I know not," wrote Walsingham, "he changed his mind, and in the end came to this issue, that unless it would please her Majesty to grant him this rude request, which also I send to your Lordship signed with his own hands, he would never return either into England or Ireland."

The "rude request" gave the English ambassador little hope of securing his prize by peaceful means. As a preliminary to making any disclosures, MacGibbon demanded "a full pardon under the great Seal for all offences that can be objected to against him, with licence with eight of his train to go into Ireland and there enjoy his bishopric as heretofore." He refused to entertain the idea of repairing to England, a fact which the ambassador regarded as significant of his real intentions. Should the Queen grant his request, he promised "hereafter to behave dutifully towards her" and to inform her ambassador of "all such news as he would have declared to the Queen's Majesty, if he had himself gone into England." Walsingham remonstrated with him, pointing out that "it became not a subject and an offender as he was to stand in such terms with his prince, but with humble submission and acknowledgment of his fault to crave pardon." But the Archbishop was adamant. He would not even consent to substitute the word "secrets" for

" news "—which was an ambiguous term—giving the very good reason that unless he were sure of pardon, he would be loath to have anything extant in his own handwriting which might prejudice his credit in Spain or elsewhere. And having delivered this ultimatum he left Paris—possibly through fear that the French government would hand him over to Elizabeth—and betook himself to Nantes, where he promised to wait the Queen's decision for twenty days without making any further move. Walsingham, puzzled by this unlooked-for show of spirit, wrote immediately to his superiors, giving a full account of what had happened and asking for instructions without delay.[1]

Elizabeth, since her last letter, had been pursuing enquiries as to the Archbishop, and the result of her investigation tended to lessen the importance which she had originally attached to his offer. Nevertheless she was still anxious to secure his person for the sake of the information which he might be forced to impart, and accordingly she followed the course of the negotiations with interest. It was, therefore, with considerable surprise that she heard of his new conditions, which struck at the root of all her plans. Her sole object was to induce him to come to England, where his confession would be speedily extracted and an end put to his dangerous activities, and here was this audacious subject calmly suggesting that he should obtain a pardon in France and then be allowed to proceed to Ireland, probably with the intention of stirring up further trouble against the Queen. Elizabeth and her ministers were exasperated ; " the lewd Lozell of Ireland," as Burghley styled him, had evidently no intention of walking into the trap which had been so cleverly laid for him.[2] Yet there was still hope that he might change his mind ; and in her answer to Walsingham, while complaining bitterly of his insolence, the Queen did not close the door on further negotiations :—

Having considered his request, in a paper subscribed by his

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, April 22, *Compleat Ambass.*, pp. 79, 80.

[2] " The Archbishop of Cashel's Requests," April 19, *For. Cal.*, 1569-71, p. 433.

hand, we do not so much disallow his request to have pardon and his restitution of his bishopric, if we shall so please, as the slender manner of his suit, being void of all recognition of his offences, and therewith his desire to repair out of that country into Ireland without first coming hither, where he ought by his submission recover his pardon. And therefore we would that you should inform him by letters or by message that, upon your information of his petition, we do not allow of his manner of so slender submission and petition ; and if he will not humbly require pardon of his offences and show himself repentant, and disposed to live hereafter in Ireland like a faithful subject, we mean not to bestow on him either pardon or bishopric. But if he will upon your warrant, come hither into England, he shall find us ready to show him grace, according to his humbleness in suing for it. This you may let him know ; and express the same unto him in such sort as you shall see cause ; for except you shall understand certainly of him, we understand that there is no great account to be made of him, as he pretendeth for himself ; neither is he of kin to the Earl of Desmond, as he allegeth, nor of any credit in Ireland. And yet we are content to draw him home by means not dishonourable.[1]

But even if Elizabeth was still half-eager to continue the negotiations, the other party to them gave her no encouragement. Walsingham, on receipt of her instructions, had communicated this message to the Archbishop, who, in accordance with his undertaking, was still at Nantes. But MacGibbon had evidently abandoned all notion of further parley, and the ambassador was vouchsafed no reply. His movements after this final breach were unknown, although Walsingham discovered that two of his servants were in Paris upon a mission the nature of which he was unable to discover. From his unbroken silence the ambassador concluded that he had left France, and so this strange visitor passed for ever out of his life.

The story has been told in full, and it now remains for us to offer an explanation of the Archbishop's conduct. The theory that he contemplated real treachery cannot be sustained. From the day of his first interview Walsingham had suspected that he meant no good. His subsequent

[1] Elizabeth to Walsingham, May 5, *Compleat Ambass.*, p. 93.

actions were such as to dispel all doubts upon the matter. It was, to say the least of it, unlikely that a man who sincerely desired a reconciliation with England would, in the intervals between his petition and the Queen's answer, hold converse with England's most determined enemies. His interview with the Cardinal of Lorraine, his attempt to gain access to Anjou, his secret reception at the French Court—all point to the inevitable conclusion. "There were no small grounds," writes one eminent English authority, "to suspect this Archbishop to be, notwithstanding his promises, false to the Queen."[1] But granted that treachery was not his motive, what then was the meaning of this singular attempt to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth? Viewed in the light of his subsequent career there is only one explanation which is consistent with all the facts: the whole affair was part of an intrigue—an incredibly clumsy intrigue—designed first to secure his return to Ireland unmolested in order to confer with the Confederate chiefs, and secondly to enlist French sympathy upon the side of the Irish rebels.

In his last letter to Philip, when he made a final bid to discredit the English adventurer, MacGibbon had used the following words: "The time approaches that I should go and give an account of myself to my princes."[2] For some time before he had been considering the advisability of this step; the unjust reproaches of his chiefs had cut him to the quick, and he desired to free himself from the stigma which had been laid upon him. The arrival of Stukely and his growing influence with Philip had decided the Archbishop; henceforward his presence at the court was worse than useless until he had received a fresh mandate from those who had sent him thither. But the problem was, how was he to return to Ireland? For the moment the king would not move hand or foot to help him, nor was it by any means certain that his inter-

[1] Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. II., Bk. I., ch. 6.
[2] *Spic. Oss.*, I., 66.

vention would have the least effect upon Elizabeth. If, on the other hand, MacGibbon attempted to land secretly, the risks to be faced were indeed enormous. The English government had long watched the course of his intrigue with a malevolent eye; the activities at Philip's court, in which he had been the prime mover, had made him a marked man; if he should fall into the hands of the English, his career would be summarily ended.

We may assume that the idea now occurred to him of feigning repentance for his past actions and of making suit to Elizabeth for pardon. By offering to reveal the plans for Stukely's expedition, he would be dangling before her eyes such a tempting bait as might induce her to overlook his own share in the Spanish practices. It would, of course, be the height of folly to repair to England in quest of her forgiveness; there was no English ambassador at Madrid, and so it was natural that he should have recourse to Walsingham in Paris. Should he achieve his object and be restored to his diocese, he might then continue his plotting against Elizabeth without let or hindrance; and having renewed his commission from the Irish nation, he hoped once more to return to Philip's court and, by the weight of his new authority, secure the downfall of the fortune-hunter who had superseded him. The picture was indeed a pleasant one to contemplate; but it seems only too probable that the sanguine prelate failed to appreciate many of the difficulties which lay in the path of its realisation.

But MacGibbon had another reason for coming to the French capital. France, it will be remembered, had been the scene of the only successful achievement to which he could point in the course of his mission. The expedition of De La Roche had raised hopes in his breast that, with a little further persuasion, the powerful faction of Guise might concentrate upon an attempt to free Ireland from the English yoke. That his hopes were by no means devoid of foundation is proved upon unimpeachable

testimony. Some months later, after the Archbishop had come and gone, Walsingham, urging the necessity for proceeding with the Anjou marriage scheme, wrote as follows : " If it go not forward, the house of Guise are like to bear the sway, who will be as forward in preferring the conquest of Ireland . . . . as the other side is contrariwise bent to prefer the conquest of Flanders." It was the Archbishop's expectation that, if he himself could get into touch with the Guise leaders, a descent upon Ireland might be arranged in conjunction with Spain.

Whether he came to Paris of his own initiative or whether, as Walsingham heard, he was sent for by the Cardinal of Lorraine, it is quite impossible to say. At all events he soon made it clear that his unfortunate faculty for blundering had not deserted him ; as a diplomat he was immeasurably inferior to the English ambassador, and the credulity with which he accepted the advances of the specious villain who so cleverly ruined his schemes, is almost pitiable. Elizabeth also did much to undermine his plans by making his coming to England a condition of his pardon. Upon the whole he failed miserably ; the leaders of the Guise faction were alienated by the adroitness of Captain Thomas, and the Queen's eyes were opened as to his real character. But, however feeble were his efforts as a diplomatist, and whatever we may think of his conduct, the fact remains that the Archbishop of Cashel was no traitor—either actual or hypothetical—to his country. This, indeed, is obvious from the events which have already been narrated ; but if additional proof is needed, it may be found in his subsequent career, which will form the subject of a further article.

D. A. Binchy.

REVIEWS

Art

HISTOIRE DE LA NATION FRANCAISE. Tome XI. *Histoire des Arts.* Par Louis Gillet. Paris : Plon-Nourrit. 1923. 48fr.

THIS volume of M. Gabriel Hanotaux's monumental history of the French deals with the arts which are generally grouped in France under the title " les beaux arts " ; that is to say, the graphic and plastic arts, architecture and music.

It begins with a description of the crude drawings made by stone age man in the caves of the Dordogne, to which M. Gillet pays the fashionable, if undeserved, tribute of ecstatic admiration. It concludes with a brief but adequate account of the productions of the Post-impressionists, *cubistes* and many of the *fauves* and other *fumistes* who have done so much in recent years to discredit the great art of France.

Though the author's account of French art is rather in the nature of a special pleading, it is lucid, learned, and sufficiently impartial. He demonstrates conclusively the fact, too seldom recognised, that French art from the earliest times to the present day represents an ordered, sequent procession illustrating the genius, the temperament, the social ideas and the political vicissitudes of the great race which has produced so many remarkable artists. Foreign critics are too apt to split the history of French art into a series of groups, schools and periods without relation or harmony. M. Gillet makes us see, once and for all, that the history of art in France is similar to the history of art in any other country, inasmuch as it is the history of a process of evolution. There is no such thing as an artist without ancestors in art. Degas derives, though at a great distance, from the painters who frescoed the walls of Saint-Savin ; Rodin and Bourdelle can trace their descent from the sculptors of the Gothic cathedrals. The School of Fontainebleau did not originate with the itinerant artists of Renaissance Italy : Primaticcio and Niccolo dell'Abbate, undoubtedly, turned a stream of new ideas into France ; but these ideas, though they swelled the great flood of French art, never diverted it for an instant from its natural course.

The general editor of the history and the author of this volume cannot be congratulated upon the illustrations of M. René Piot. When we remember the number of extraordinarily able illustrators at present working in France, we are amazed that they should

have selected him for such a task. He has, it is true, acquired a modest fame among the vanguard of the "advanced" art critics for certain brutal and clumsy paintings; but it is hard to imagine that his drawings in this volume will in any way enhance his reputation even with such judges, for they are entirely conventional in conception though ludicrously bad in execution. Many of them, which represent famous masterpieces of art, can scarcely be related at all to the originals. Pierre Lescot, Houdon and Poussin must have writhed in their graves at the horrible travesties of their great works which M. Piot has perpetrated. The coloured illustrations are peculiarly atrocious and, in addition, are badly printed. The black and white drawings look as though they were done by a paralytic with a post office pen upon the coarsest packing paper. It is to be feared that M. Piot's work tends to stultify in a great degree the eloquent argument of M. Gillet.

This volume, like the rest of the series, is admirably printed and produced. Its utility would have been enormously increased by the addition of an index. THOMAS BODKIN.

Biography

GAELIC PIONEERS OF CHRISTIANITY. By Dom Louis Gougaud, O.S.B. Translated from the French by Victor Collins. With a Preface by Father Augustine, O.S.F.C. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1923. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

IT is to be feared that many of us in Ireland will learn with surprise that the first part of Dom Gougaud's new book appeared in the original French as long ago as 1908. Perhaps it is that the Intermediate system did not provide us with an easy mastery of the cultivated French tongue; perhaps it is that learned journals like the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* find their way but rarely to our shores. At any rate our thanks are due to the distinguished Benedictine scholar, to the translator Mr. Collins, to the eloquent Fr. Augustine, O.S.F.C., and to all others who had a part in placing at our disposal a book of exceptional interest and value. The qualities which mark Dom Gougaud's previous work, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, characterise also the present volume. The author has no new theories to propound, no new solutions of old problems to offer, no weakness for filling historical gaps with brilliant imaginative fancies. Admirable industry in gathering evidence, sanity and scientific skill in arriving at conclusions, and brevity in exposition are the leading features of his work. As his chief purpose was to give his own countrymen a general idea of the contribution of

Ireland to early mediaeval culture Dom Gougaud could afford to be concise. To us, however, in Ireland with our special interest in the subject-matter his accounts here and there seem pruned to a faulty bareness, all the more so as we know that he could, had he so desired, have drawn much more abundantly on the rich stores of his knowledge. We trust that he will meet our wishes in this respect when he comes to prepare a second edition.

Continental scholars have long been accustomed to interpret such phrases as "peregrination for Christ's love" (advanced as motive for the exodus of Irish monks to foreign countries) in a purely ascetical sense. According to this view the direct aim of Colmcille and of all his lonely successors in exile was to win merit by severing the dearest ties that bound them to the earth ; apostolic work came as a mere afterthought. Dom Gougaud, with praiseworthy caution, combines the two purposes, giving as his view that the representatives of our race abroad in Merovingian times were dominated almost solely by ideas of asceticism and of apostleship. A study of the lives of Colmcille, Columbanus, Eusthasius (Columbanus' first successor at Luxeuil), Kilian and Vergil, and of Irish influence on the Anglo-Saxon monks Egbert, Witbert and Willibrord, who first took in hand the conversion of their cousins in Northern Germany, certainly gives the impression that the missionary motive deserves to be emphasised more strongly than it usually is. That peculiar feature of the Irish ecclesiastical system, by which the monastery was in a sense the home of the parish clergy as well as the home of an intensely ascetical religious community, should here be kept in mind.

Dom Gougaud expresses his surprise that the rules of St. Columban and St. Benedict, "so different in tendency and character," should have been fused into one in many Gallic monasteries. But is the difference between the two rules really so great ? Both monastic fathers drew their inspiration from the same sources—the writings of Pachomius, Basil, Jerome, Augustine, Cassian ; and ultimately, it need hardly be added, from the gospel. Obedience is for both the "acid test" of the true vocation ; poverty and chastity, the two other fundamental virtues of the monastic state, leave little room for original treatment. If paternity is the great principle of relationship between the head of a Benedictine monastery and his community, it must not be forgotten that to his subjects the Abbot is "Dominus" (lord) as well as "abbas" (father) ; whilst the Irish abbot, though pre-eminently the "princeps monasterii," lives on such intimate terms with his monks that the word "monastery" in altered form became the common Gaelic

word for "family." St. Benedict's advance over all his predecessors, as also over St. Columban, was that he fixed definitely in his rule the constitution of the monastery—the election and powers of the abbot and other officials, the part of the monks in legislation, etc. In Ireland, as everywhere else before St. Benedict's time, this was regulated by monastic custom only.

The other outstanding feature of St. Benedict's rule was its mildness. Columban was less generous in matters of food, more severe in punishing offences, and more exacting in liturgical service than the great Italian patriarch. To proclaim absolutely that St Benedict struck just the happy mean and that St. Columban erred on the side of excessive severity seems to us to be unjust to the Irish saint. Monastic life, of its very nature, implies renunciation and self-sacrifice in the highest degree, and therefore requires heroic purpose in the man who would embrace it. A severe rule excludes weaklings and tends of itself to make the reality correspond to an edifying extent with the ideal. A mild rule if observed in its fulness is, of course, excellent; but the danger of falling below the required standard and degenerating into laxity is obvious. The first place outside of Rome where the Benedictine rule took root was England, and it is significant that a century and a half after Augustine of Canterbury's arrival the Venerable Bede has to bewail the low state of certain monasteries in that country. The first great reformer of the Order, St. Benedict of Aniane, died as early as 821. The Cluniac reform began about 910, and a number of other reforms followed before the middle of the 12th century. The idea of combining the stern Columban rule with the mild but much more complete Benedictine rule might very naturally have occurred to a zealous abbot of the 7th century; and the gradual exclusion of the Columban element is not, we venture to think, to be attributed to an increase of fervour in the Frankish or Burgundian monasteries.

The Benedictine scholar takes the view that, while our missionaries were winning fame abroad, the population at home was divided into two groups—a small but very vigorous caste of saints and a large but no less vigorous caste of sinners, with practically no cohesion between the two. The arguments used in support of this theory are not convincing. Saints are not a self-perpetuating social class; they must be recruited, at least in their raw state, from the community, and when they appear in numbers they imply a multitude of families living lives of normal Christian virtue. The lay Irishman, like every other mortal, felt the yoke of the Ten Commandments. At times he let the two tables drop that he might

follow unhindered his passions, as is clear from shocking examples in the literature ; but to hold that as a rule he was impervious to the influence of religion and culture is to take an extreme attitude for which satisfactory proof cannot be found either in the literature or elsewhere.

Alcuin, in a letter of exhortation to the Saxon monks of Mayo, tells them to edify by their example the " barbarous " people among whom they live. A sense of humour was notoriously not included among the English scholar's gifts ; otherwise he would have reflected on the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish culture of the period before branding the Irish wtih such an epithet. We do not know if he ever called the Eastern Empire " barbarous," but it would be little out of keeping with the modesty of Carolingian scholars if he did. The " Libri Carolini," directed against misinterpreted canons of the second council of Nicaea, are probably from his pen, and in them terms like " stupid," " nonsensical," in reference to Eastern bishops, are frequently used. In 794 Charles the Great's theologians met in Council at Frankfurt-on-the-Main and actually sat in judgment on the Greek hierarchy and clergy. When we remember the strength of the Greeks in theological speculation and their unbroken tradition of learning from the days of Constantine onwards, and contrast therewith the feeble amateur efforts of the Carolingians in the field of scholarship, we shall not be surprised to find Alcuin, when he presumes to comment on our people, mistaking the hillock on which he stands for an Alpine peak.

Discussing the knowledge of Greek in Ireland Dom Gougaud takes the conservative side, holding that the language came to be mastered only after Theodore of Tarsus had introduced its study into Canterbury. The evidence at hand undoubtedly supports this view. On the extent and quality of the teaching in Irish schools the distinguished scholar has likewise weighty words to say. There could be no greater mistake than to assume that Bangor, Clonmacnoise, and our other colleges stand comparison with, let us say, the great Christian schools of Alexandria and Antioch, or even with the late mediæval university of Paris. The stock-in-trade of Irish scholars was limited, and they shared in the absolute dependence on Christian antiquity which marked all Western learning down to the end of the eleventh century.

Interesting is the reference to the younger Hincmar, bishop of Laon (died c. 879), who prided himself on his speaking knowledge of Irish. Hincmar unfortunately did not die in the odour of sanctity ; otherwise he might be taken as patron by Gaelic revivalists of to-day.

The second part of Dom Gougaud's book, treating of devotion paid to our saints abroad, is almost of greater value than the first, as it contains a multitude of facts never before systematically collected or woven into a reliable narrative. The extension of St. Colmcille's cult to Sweden reconciles us to the monstrous form, Kakwkylla, which his name took there. Murcheratus stands surely for the Irish Muirchertach, not Murchadh, and therefore has no immediate connection with Murrough or Murphy. St. Kilian's death is put by Dom Gougaud at about the year 640, but this is certainly much too early. The shorter "Passio," which has some historical value, brings the saint to Rome during the pontificate of Pope Conon (686–7), and the most likely conclusion from the various chronicles is that his martyrdom took place in 689. This is likewise the view in Würzburg, where the twelfth centenary of his death was celebrated in 1889. The map illustrating "les expansions irlandaises" attached to *Les Chrétientés celtiques*" would have been a welcome addition to this volume also. It is earnestly to be hoped that *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity* will find a place in every Irishman's library and will secure special attention in our college and university classes. J. R.

SAINT JEROME: sa Vie et son Oeuvre. Par Ferd. Cavallera. 2 vols. Louvain: *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense.* Paris: Champion. 1922. 36*fr.*

THREE years ago (June, 1920) *Studies* welcomed the return of Louvain University to its normal academic life. Since then the University has not been idle, and the volumes before us are a promise for the future. Catholic scholars for the last twenty or thirty years have turned more and more towards the history of theological opinions, and more than once plans have been formed, notably by the present Cardinal Ehrle, S.J., for the publication of a series of monographs, ranging from patristic times through mediaeval scholasticism to the new era which opens with the Council of Trent. A group of Belgian scholars have at last been able to begin the work. The editorial committee of the new *Spicilegium Lovaniense* includes professors from the Catholic University, Dominican and Jesuit colleges of Louvain, as well as Père Delehaye, the Bollandist, and Dom Berlière of Maredsous. These are solid guarantees for the future of the series, and we wish the venture all the success which it deserves. Incidentally, librarians should note that life-subscribers to the series are granted unusually favourable terms.

Père Cavallera, a Frenchman, contributes the first two volumes

of the series. Much erudition has been lavished on the study of St. Jerome's life and works. Dates have been established, new works discovered, facts co-ordinated, legends exploded; but no competent biographer has hitherto attempted to picture the saint in the light of all this newly-acquired knowledge. Père Cavallera's work will be a joy to those who like sound scholarship combined with literary skill. His first volume tells the story of St. Jerome's life; the second deals with controverted facts—notably with questions of chronology. A third volume is promised, which will deal with St. Jerome as author, scholar and Doctor of the Church. Those who enjoy the analysis of a complex personality should read this first volume, in particular the story of St. Jerome's relations with Rufinus. Those who are interested in the history of Roman society during the fourth and fifth centuries should read the earlier chapters, in which Père Cavallera tells the story of St. Jerome's education. For the *Letters* of St. Jerome, with the *Confessions* of St. Augustine and the *Parentalia* of Ausonius are our best authority for the history of education during this golden age of the Latin Fathers, and Père Cavallera has made good use of his material. The young boy who ran from his lessons to take shelter on his grandmother's lap grew up into the brilliant pupil of Donatus, and the most enterprising scholar of his day. Even as an old man, St. Jerome could remember the dread with which, as a schoolboy, he used to face a public declamation: he quotes passages from the pieces he had learnt by heart fifty years earlier. And it was as a travelling student that he heard the Celtic tongue spoken in the streets of Trèves. Let me recommend all those who enjoy the by-paths of literature to read St. Jerome's letters and dialogues; if they take my advice, they will begin by reading Père Cavallera's book. Later volumes of the *Spicilegium* may be less readable (for we are promised editions of unpublished texts as well as technical monographs); but these two volumes combine much erudition with the pleasant manner of a real scholar. A. G.

Celtica

SLOINNTE GAEDHEAL IS GALL: Irish Names and Surnames Collected and edited, with explanatory and historical notes By Rev. Patrick Woulfe.

IRISH NAMES FOR CHILDREN. By Rev. Patrick Woulfe. Dublin: Gill. 1923. 10*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.*, respectively.

The first of these works appears to be primarily intended for those who wish to Hibernicize their names, or at least to de-Anglicize the orthography thereof. It is obviously not intended for serious

students of the history of Irish nomenclature. To meet their needs we should require a work of much larger scope, planned on a different method. In such a work the main feature would be the collection and tabulation of material found in Irish documents; the Early and Middle Irish forms and spellings of each name would be given as well as the later forms. The foreign names assimilated into Irish would be arranged from the historical point of view; *provenance* and date of introduction being ascertained as far as possible in the case of each form. Etymological explanations, whether recovered from the more horrid depths of the linguistic ocean or merely skimmed from the surface, might in most cases be considered unnecessary; but for every form cited an authenticating reference would be supplied, since students of a sceptical generation, which has learnt to be peculiarly distrustful of its elders, will require to see the evidence for themselves.

Father Woulfe's book is nothing so ambitious; but it contains such a mass of interesting information gleaned from various sources that one cannot help regretting that he did not make it part of his plan to refer to his authorities throughout, especially as there are many passages which provoke query. For instance, the inquirer would like to know at what period of Irish history *-án* meant "son of" (p. 4). Again, it is not easy to understand the statement on p. 8 that "*maol* originally meant bald, hence tonsured," and "is now confused with the old word *mál* (Old Celtic maglos), a chief." The etymology of *giolla* offered on the same page would hardly satisfy Professor Marstrander. In the introductory essay new and old usages are not carefully distinguished, and the classification of names, though elaborate, is unsatisfactory. The explanations, moreover, are often inaccurate. "*Dubh-chú* (black hound)" and "*Giolla-dubh* (black lad)" are given in the same class; the first is a compound, the second is formed of two separate words. In the same class are placed *Bairr-fhionn*, *Bran-dubh* and *Ceann-dubh*, rendered respectively by "fair head," "black raven" and "black head." *Duibhcheann* and *Ceanndubh*, however, should not be rendered alike. The first means "black head," the second "black of head." The distinction may seem trifling, but it is often important. Similarly, *Bairrfhionn* means "white of head" (or "hair"). In *Brandubh*, the first element is not a feature of the person named, but something to which he, or some part of him, is likened, and "raven-black" is the correct rendering. It would be desirable to show a distinction between names which are simply compound words and those which contain two distinct words. Father

Woulfe clearly recognizes this distinction himself ; but, as shown above, he does not note it consistently, and in the lists we find *Feardorcha*, *Cúchonnacht*, *Cúmheadha*, etc.. *Cú Uladh* is properly divided, but why should the gen. be written *Conuladh ?*

Many of the misplaced accents may be misprints, but in several cases the true form of the name has evidently not been ascertained by the author, *e.g.*, *Fionntan* (sic leg.) has short ultimate ; *Fítheal* (sic leg.) has nothing to do with *Fithcheallach ; Finghin* (sic leg.) does not mean " fair birth ; " *Niocól* has long ultimate. It may also be noted that *Cathaoir* has nothing to do with *Cathfher ;* the gen. of *Lughaidh* is properly *Luighdheach ;* the older form of *Béibhinn* is *Bé bhfionn*, and the name does not mean " melodious lady " ; the modern spelling of *-nait* should be *-naid*. *Toirdealbhach* (sic pass.) is here explained to mean " shaped like Thor " ; possibly the Middle Irish spelling *Tairdelbach* suggests a different derivation. The lists of Christian names are very short, especially when one considers the large number of foreign adaptations included. There are many native names worth reviving which we do not find here, while some that are given do not appear likely for acceptance by modern parents, *e.g.*, *Fear gan ainm*, which the Elizabethan officials turned into Ferdinando. The endings *-óg* and *-og* (*-ug*) are often confused, and the author does not seem to be aware of the true form and usage of *Mág* (sic leg.).

Looking through the borrowed names one finds some confusing statements ; for example : " *Seán* . . . a var. of *Eóin*, q.v., one of the commonest names among the early Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland . . . ; also written *Seaghán* and *Seón*." Turning to the reference we find *Eóin* also described as " one of the most frequent names among the Anglo-Norman settlers." For purposes of classification *Seán*, *Seón* and *Eóin* are three distinct names ; the fact that they owe their forms to their *provenance* and date of introduction, and that they all ultimately derive from the same Greek or Hebrew name does not alter this. *Eóin* is of course a quite early borrowing, and rarely, if ever, found amongst the Anglo-Norman settlers, from whom we have *Ioán*, *Eoán*, *Seoán*, *Seón*, and *Seaán*. It might have been remarked that the spelling *Seaghán* is due to late scribes who knew that the word was dissyllabic in the classical language, and thought an extra consonant was required in the middle. The older spelling was *Seaán*. It is a pity that the genuine forms of the classical period are not generally included. Father Woulfe gives as the Irish forms of David, *Dáibhid*, *Dáibhidh*. The first is quite modern, little more than a Hibernicized spelling

of the English ; the second, if the ultimate is to be sounded long, may represent the genuine Irish form *Dáibhíodh*, gen. *-ídh*, whose variant *Dáibhíoth* may be preserved in the colloquial *Dáth*. "*Dáithí* . . . an old Irish name meaning swiftness," is really a figment. *Ualtar* and *Ualtra* are found at an early period, but in the literature the commonest Irish form of Walter (Water) is *Uáitéar* (*Bháitéar*), gen. *-éir* or *-éar*. Amongst the Hibernicized forms of Davis, *Déivios*, a form actually used in County Cork,[1] might have been included. In the case of many other adapted names the literature offers forms which might usefully be recorded ; to mention only a few out of many : *Rolón*, *Rolónt*, for Roland ; *Oilbhéarus* for Oliver ; *Mairghréag*, gen. sometimes *Mara Gréag*, for Margaret ; *Catair* (*Fh*)*íona*, with the fanciful gen. *Catrach Fíona*, for Catherine ; *Raghnailt*, for Reginalda ; *Robog*, dimin. of *Roibeard*, Robert ; *Pádraigín*, a favourite name in some of the more famous of the Anglo-Norman lines.

The introduction of *Máire* is not easy to date, but it came in much earlier than the end of the 16th century. The annalists mention *Máire* daughter of *O Máille* at 1523, and as early as 1396 we find *Maire* daughter of *O Catháin*. A difficulty is that *Maire* is a common early spelling of *Muire* (*Mael Maire* FM 1023), and accents are often omitted or misplaced. With regard to adapted surnames it should be noted that such forms as *de Búrc*, *de Buitiléar*, etc., are exceedingly rare in Irish documents, and are never used in the contemporary literature of the classical period [2] ; in fact they seem properly to belong to the neo-Gaelic period. The annalists and poets regularly use *Búrc*, sometimes *a Búrc*, similarly *Buitilér*, *Puér*, and so on. The Four Masters usually refer to John de Courcy as *Iohn do Cuirt ; de Cuirt* appears in a couple of entries. Robert Bruce is *Roiberd a Briús* in the Four Masters ; *Roiberd a Briuis* and *Roiberd Briuis* in the Annals of Loch Cé. *De Núinnseann* is not the form of Nugent favoured by Giolla Brighde Ó Heódhusa (see *Studies*, 1918, pp. 281, 451), and the regular form of Plunkett was *Pluingcéad*. It would be useful to have a documentary reference for the form in *-éid*, and for a number of other forms given by Father Woulfe, in order to date approximately their introduction.

Irish Names for Children consists mainly of lists extracted from the larger work. A calendar of names of saints is added, and there are indexes of English or Anglicized names. E. K.

[1] See *The Irish Verb Simplified*, 1916, pp. 19, 21.

[2] The fact that such a poet as D. Ó Bruadair occasionally uses *do Búrc*, or *de Búrc*, generally for the metre's sake, is not evidence of ordinary usage, even in the 17th century, when we consider the testimony on the other side.

OIR-CHISTE. DUANAIRE LIRICI D'ON AOS FOGHLUMA. Séamus Ó hAodha, M.A. do Thoigh. Comhlucht Oideachais na h-Eireann, 1922. 5*s.* glan.

It is strange that we should have to wait so long for an anthology of Irish lyric poetry for schools. The belated appearance of such an essential book is one proof of many that a very important influence in the restoration of the language has been too generally overlooked—the appeal of true literature. What a very small fraction of the Irish text-books read in schools could be called literature ! The classics and modern languages are learned from the works of the great authors, who have handled their speech with the power and grace of masters ; but in the teaching of Irish we have been content with school books whose only merit was that they were idiomatic—books without a trace of those higher qualities of style, imagination, and expression which constitute literature.

Mr. Hayes has rendered a signal service by the publication of this little *Golden Treasury*, and the study of his book should do more to quicken a love for our language than the exhortations of a battalion of earnest but unliterary enthusiasts. The collection, which is made with a true literary taste, represents the strength, freshness and variety of the Irish lyrical spirit from the sixteenth century to our own day. There are at least a dozen exquisite little poems that reveal a sense of beauty and a power of expression that fill one with a delightful surprise. Here is an unknown poet's address to a tiny bird which he heard chirping from a bush on a bleak day in March :—

A éinín bhoicht
As tiugh an tuir a ghlaodhann ;
Do dhán cé beag, ní suarach,
Níor bhronn Dia ort ach é sin.

Píob ar crith
'S an craoibhín fút ar luascadh ;
Fearr liom anocht ná an ceol-sidhe
Do thrí nótaí lem' chluasaibh.

It is curious to note, and a good omen for the continuance of the lyrical tradition of the language, that the tenderness and spiritual vision which mark this little poem are caught again in Pearse's exquisite little apostrophe to the bird he found dead in the snow on his doorstep.

The prose introductions to each poem do not appeal very much to the present writer. The brief remarks on the literary history of the language are good, and might be extended with profit. But

for the most part the introductions consist of a mere lengthened paraphrase of the poems ; and the teachers might well be trusted to do this for their pupils. It is a pity that such an excellent book was sent out with a very defective vocabulary, and a perfectly useless table of contents. A UA C.

Economics

GERMANY'S CAPACITY TO PAY. By H. G. Moulton and C. E. McGuire. New York : McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1923.

THIS important work is the best introduction to a study of the problem of German reparation payments that we have yet discovered. The authors had the benefit of the assistance of the Institute of Economics in its composition, and they have succeeded in stating the intricate problem with impartiality, lucidity, and knowledge. The preface tells us that " the Institute has not been hampered by lack of time or facilities, and has accordingly not been content with any superficial gathering of data or opinion. The findings which it submits in this volume are believed to be as conclusive and trustworthy as would be those of any commission. No discussion of the political aspects of the problem is attempted, nor is any detailed plan of settlement recommended. The purpose has been, merely to make as complete a diagnosis as possible of Germany's economic condition and of her ability to continue making reparation payments, and to point out the bearings of international trade conditions and commercial policies upon any reparation settlement whatsoever." We have no hesitation in saying that the authors have succeeded in what they have attempted.

The first thing to be made clear is the two-fold nature of the reparation problem. There is in the first place the internal, fiscal, or budgetary problem, which is somewhat analogous to the problem faced by an ordinary individual in meeting debts ; and there is in the second place the external, commercial, or foreign-trade problem, which finds no analogy in the settlement of ordinary private obligations. The latter problem, according to the authors, " has been the source of most of the confusion of mind that exists on the subject of reparations and of the misconceptions as to what is involved for Germany in making reparation payments " ; and it is therefore the part of the question to which the first and most important part of the volume is devoted.

The great principle underlying the theory of external trade, in so far as it affects reparations, is that external payments can only be made over an extended period of years by reason of an excess of exports over imports. The authors state this—the main thesis of their book—early and unmistakably :—" The total capacity

of Germany to pay will be measured by the excess of her exports of goods and services rendered to foreigners over the imports of goods and the receipt of services from foreigners." Certain widely current fallacies are disposed of: for example, the belief that a nation's capacity to pay reparations is measured by the excess of annual production over annual consumption, that reparations can be raised by means of borrowing in foreign countries, and that payment can be secured by the creditor nations' collecting the revenues of the debtor nation. The last mentioned fallacy is shown to place its upholders upon the horns of a dilemma: either the revenue is collected in the currency of the debtor nation, which is unacceptable abroad, or in the currency of the creditor nations, which can only be circulated within the debtor nation by stimulating and assisting the latter's external trade. In other words, "guarantees and control agencies will prove of no avail if they do not increase German exports relatively to imports"—thus, we are driven back to the authors' original thesis.

The next section of the book consists of an examination into the international balance of Germany's accounts with a view to ascertaining the amount she is capable of paying by reason of her excess of exports. As the result of the investigation of a large number of statistics, the authors arrive at the conclusion that, even at the zenith of German prosperity, the year 1913, Germany could have paid less than half the annual sum stipulated by the London agreement of 1921. It is unnecessary to labour the point that her capacity to pay has diminished considerably during the last ten years owing to the war and the post-war conditions. In answer to the obvious but superficial objection that Germany has in fact already made payments by way of reparation which would have been deemed impossible on the basis of this calculation, the authors reply that a nation may quite possibly pay external debts for a brief period, even though there is no credit balance in the international accounts, but that such a feat can be accomplished only by methods which rapidly reduce subsequent ability to pay. In other words, a man may live in excess of his income by drawing on his capital, and this is what Germany has been doing since the Treaty of Versailles. "The reparation payments which Germany has been making during the past four years, together with the huge deficit in the ordinary international trade and financial accounts, have already produced a situation which has not only destroyed all possibility of making reparation payments for a long time to come, but have placed Germany's whole economic situation in a highly precarious position."

Thus the first essential towards the provision of continuous reparations is to put Germany in a position where her export trade may develop to a point when it will once again exceed her import trade. This will involve the development not only of the productive capacity of Germany but also of her external markets. The refusal of any country to accept German goods is merely postponing the day when effective reparations may be counted on. "One can find no more striking illustration of human fatuity than the demand on the part of the Allied Countries that Germany must make vast reparation payments, and the simultaneous erection of tariff barriers, the result of which is to make such payments impossible. The tragedy is that even yet few people realize that any inconsistency is involved."

The next section of the book deals with the internal, fiscal, or budgetary problem involved in the payment of reparations. We are given a brief review of the fiscal policy of Germany both during and after the war, from which it appears that loans were resorted to on an unjustifiable scale in the former period, and that expenditure grossly exceeded revenue in the latter. A careful and critical examination proves that during the fateful post-war years the German Government did everything in its power to reduce expenditure and to increase revenue, but that the circumstances of the times, complicated by the rapidly increasing inflation of the currency, rendered anything approaching a balanced budget a complete impossibility. "We are convinced," the authors say, "that, at no time since 1919, has it been possible to increase taxes and reduce expenditure sufficiently to balance the budget and provide a surplus for reparation payments. . . . . The public credit of Germany, in consequence, has been completely shattered."

We are next given an excellent chapter on the German monetary situation, from which it appears that the inflation of the currency was an inevitable result of the war and of the Treaty of Versailles, and that, once inflation had got under way, it could not be checked. The authors acquit the German government of any deliberate Machiavellian plot to bankrupt their country in order to avoid paying reparations, and they prophesy that the depreciation of the mark will get worse and worse until it goes the way of the Russian rouble. This prophecy is interesting, as the book was published in May, and we know what has happened since then. The only solution of the currency problem is the restoration of public solvency: "It cannot be too often reiterated that there can be no solution of the monetary problem until revenues once again equal expenditure."

The final chapters of the book are devoted to an account of how the French paid the 1871 indemnity, and to a description of the international implications of German insolvency. It is pointed out that many of the factors governing the situation in Germany are outside German control, and that the reparations question will never be satisfactorily solved until the delicate mechanism of the world exchanges is once more restored to a sound basis. The final conclusion of the authors is that the development of an export surplus in Germany is the only key to the reparations problem, and that, until the probable extent of this surplus can be estimated, it is futile and unprofitable to attempt to exact promises of payments of definite amounts at future dates. The result of the whole discussion of the volume is summarized in the following passage :—

> If the Allies wish to procure from Germany the maximum reparation payments over a series of years, Germany must be given time in which to recover her economic equilibrium. This is what such true friends of France as the representatives upon the advisory committee of bankers urged in 1922. This is what is behind the whole moratorium idea—which every experienced business man and economist knows is now a condition precedent to any further substantial payments. If Germany is to pay in the largest measure, her creditors must squarely face the facts and give her time in which to recover, if possible, her international economic position.

G. O'B.

Education

THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE : Recent Fundamental Changes in the Educational Philosophy of Great Britain, France, and Germany. By Frederick W. Roman, Ph.D. London : Routledge. 1923. Pp. xvi, 271. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE main doctrine underlying this elaborate though disappointing work is nowhere explicitly formulated. Comparison, however, of the multitude of detailed opinions on the development of education, 1918–1923, in France, Germany and England, leads to the impression that the views expressed on French education (pp. 127–137) are the writer's central theses. He appears to accept the sociological tenets of Durkheim as fundamental ; and he most correctly sees that their outlet into practical effect, through the " sociology " taught in the Training Schools of the French State for Primary Teachers, is all important. The business of this " sociology " of Durkheim, formally inserted into the training course, is " a real step towards the practical. We may expect that questions dealing with labour, property, exchange, the family, the nation, and the State " will be discussed. The treatment of these issues " by the late Professor Durkheim may be cited as quite typical " : and there is sufficient evidence that Durkheim's successor, Fauconnet, is favourably regarded.

The only fault found, in fact, with the new, ultra-socialist Sociology of the French Primary Training Courses and Primary Schools is, that it is still too cautious. "The visitor will note that the teacher takes for granted that private property is a just and permanent order of society, that truth must always be told, that gambling is an evil. The writer is not objecting to any of these conclusions. The criticism he would offer is the taking for granted of the major proposition." It is even found that "the teaching rests on authority, as in the case in the Church schools" (p. 133). What Dr. Roman desires is the full application of the sociology of Durkheim and Fauconnet, in which "labour, property, the family, the nation, and the State will be discussed from the point of view that arises out of the every-day world . . . that can be developed into a wider and more profound democracy. Their programmes are based on life. They admit revision and change" (p. 128). All this means utter pragmatism applied to moral and social teaching: it is already bearing certain consequences in the attitude of Normal school directors, inspectors, and others, towards post-war physical education; and in the markedly critical attitude towards the whole secondary system in France and in Germany.

It is only to be expected that Dr. Roman's views, in discreet accord with Buisson, Durkheim, Fauconnet, and all their adherents, should be in constant opposition to any infiltration of religion into education. Thus in France "the Catholic Church is trying to make big capital out of a lowered state of morals." In Bavaria (1922) "the Bavarian Government (Minister Matt) openly sympathises with the Denominational group. . . . The Bishops, who appear more concerned over politics than over the saving of souls, are lending him every possible assistance." The author's real interests lie in the "new Experimental Schools," which all "make no attempt at religious teaching whatever." He sees little hope for the teaching of eugenics, even in France: "the reactionaries and the Catholic Church" are opposed to it. The Ministerial policy in France is reactionary: it is culturally, psychologically, and socially wrong; and the right way, it is pointed out, can be seen (pp. 145–149) in the sociology of education as propounded by Snedden, Dewey, and Roman. The prospect in Germany, though not without hope, is almost as dubious as in France. The abandonment of the Hoffmann policy of 1919 is lamented: "These are Bolshevist doctrines, but to an American they seem quite reasonable and moderate." The gleam of hope is that Catholics and Socialists cannot continue to co-operate (pp. 184–185).

There is an immense amount of incidental information in the

treatise : had it been properly built up on documentary evidence fully cited, with much less of personal commentary, it would be of great utility. Dr, Roman "gained his information by personal visit and direct question rather than by the reading of papers and books" ; but the persons consulted, named in his preface in full detail, are by no means adequately representative. Those named for Ireland are a case in point ; and the treatment of education in the Irish Free State is much below even a very moderate standard of what constitutes fair statement and fair criticism, in the half-page that is given to it. T. C.

Fiction

WET CLAY. By Seumas O'Kelly. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1922. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.

THE more one reads books dealing with country life in Ireland, the more one marvels how the fiction that the Irish are a merry, witty, light-hearted people ever came to receive the popularity it has so long enjoyed. The late Seumas O'Kelly has in WET CLAY added to the long list of sad stories of the life of farmers. It is a book of considerable power ; the grim old woman who is "head of the house" and keeps her descendents subject to her, the hard, just man Mark, the sour, ill-conditioned Luke—her grandsons—are well-drawn characters, while the "returned Yank" stands out in relief against them. Most interesting of the women is unhappy Martha Lee, who so unwisely marries Luke.

The outstanding theme of the book is the national passion for the land ; not for Dark Rosaleen, mark you, not for Ireland a Nation, nor for any other abstract idea, but for the land itself, the green grass and the wet clay. This is the passion that dominates the old grandmother and her grandchildren ; it is indeed one redeeming feature in the disgruntled Luke that for a brief while he has, at any rate, heart enough to love a woman, even if he does treat her ill when he has secured her.

An arresting passage is that in which Mark discourses on the word "peasant," used without due reflection by the returned Yank. Only O'Connell, Goldsmith, and the British Government, he tells us, have ever applied that word to the farmers of Ireland. For himself he prefers the more usual term—the people. "The land for the people," not "the land for the peasants," not the Governmental *formula* "peasant proprietorship," was the rallying-cry in the old League days. But Mark is no believer in Land Nationalisation ; "the people" are, for him, the farmers, the men who live on and by the land ; city folk, town-dwellers, shopkeepers are

of no consequence in his eyes, nor in the eyes of his family. In the light of past history, and in contemplation of the days that are coming this passage gives one to think, if not furiously, at least curiously. The dislike of innovations, the clinging to old methods, the conservatism of "the people" is also forcibly set out.

The period chosen by the author is during the operation of the Land Purchase Act of 1903. Politics in the sense of parliamentary struggles for Home Rule and so forth do not obtrude themselves, and the story scarcely travels indeed outside the confines of Mark's farm. There is, however, a description of a local concert where a famous Irish-American singer, having sung for "the natives," expatiates on the beauty of Irish music and the importance of reviving the old folk-songs. His speech leaves his audience cold and mystified. Not a word about the wrongs of Ireland, not a word about Home Rule, not a word, above all, about the land—a poor speech, truly!

There is no laughter in this book. Peasants in Ireland, or "the people" if you will, do not laugh. Martha, the heroine, if she may so be called, marries Luke to escape from the sordid life of an assistant in the millinery shop of a country town. Her bosom friend prefers the veil and the cloister.

The story closes with the report of a rifle, and there is blood on the last page. A sense of numbness, of a monotony nothing can dispel—save flight to the United States—is produced by this book as by countless others dealing with our rural life. Perhaps rural life is the same in all countries. W. D.

THE REAPING. By Samuel and Betty Moore. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1923. 6*s*.

I ONCE had a friend, something of a romantic altruist, who wanted to start a movement to repeal our Royal Marriage Act. In attacking the marriage customs, scarcely less hard-hearted and firmly established, of the Irish farming class, Mr. Sam Moore, K.C., and Mrs. Betty Moore in their admirable novel have taken on a task almost as quixotic. The mills of royal families and farmer households will continue to grind-up human emotions with entire efficiency until a much longer line of knights-errant shall have broken their spears against them.

Mary Gallagher, the heroine, was ground by the mill. The story is said to be a true one. Forced to abandon her lover, Dan O'Rourke, himself driven to emigration, she is married to a rich skin-flint of the neighbourhood. The poor skin-flint, however, finds her a very hard flint indeed, as she ends by breaking his skull and laying

him out decently in a neighbouring meadow; a long term of penal servitude results. Gone to America, Dan also takes to doubtful courses. He takes up politics and ends as a United States Senator, in time to marry the widow, on her release from gaol.

These are the naked facts cynically stated, but in truth they give no true picture of the book. The bones are clad in a lovely flesh of sentiment. The pictures of country happiness crossed by despair, of the human being fighting against unbreakable custom, will make a deep appeal to the sympathetic reader. There is a certain quality of freshness in the description that shows a very skilful art, and anything of caricature is wholly absent. For once, scenes of upper middle class life come into an Irish story. A judge's dinner at assize and a scene at the Chief Secretary's are very skilfully done. Only one point of criticism arises. The victims of the barbarous bargain marriage custom are pictured as in revolt against it. In actual fact victims of an evil custom very seldom are. What Chinese lady ever objected to having her feet squeezed? What cavalry officer ever objected to having to spend his days drinking and gambling, instead of leading the healthy life of an ecclesiastical student.? But this said, the book is a delightful one. A. E. C.

THE RED QUEEN. By E. M. Wilmot-Buxton. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1923. 6*s*.

In this book of Miss Wilmot-Buxton's, not an historical novel but more interesting than a great many, we are given, by means of "the records, State Papers and memoirs of the day," a very impressionable picture of Elizabethan times. In her foreword the authoress speaks of "the strong and conflicting opinions concerning her character and actions" that were held of the Red Queen even in her own time. And as chapter succeeds chapter and the interest of the story deepens, so well and, it would appear, so truthfully has incident been added to incident in the building up of the whole, the Elizabethan atmosphere becomes so absorbing that we find ourselves wondering again and again—as must those of her own age—as to what really was "the game." How much of it was playacting—for that is how it chiefly strikes one—and how much done in seriousness cannot be determined now with much more certainty than it could then have been. But Miss Wilmot-Buxton does not seek to prove what may have been the facts. She gives us, rather, a picture of what was the age, and portraits of those more individually famous; but more vivid than any is that of the Queen herself. And, in spite of its splendour, of its sternness, and even of

its comic interest, we see it as a tragic portrait. And it grows to be terrible in the end. That of the old woman, crouched in the dusk on the floor of her bedroom is terrible, sipping broth from the spoon held by my Lord Admiral Howard, and at last turning with a recurrent flash of the Tudor fierceness to Mr. Secretary Cecil and saying that, "if he were in the habit of seeing such things in his bed as she did when in hers, he would not persuade her to go there."

But this is not the note upon which Miss Wilmot-Buxton ends, but upon that of Christian charity. It is Mary Radclyffe, "Merry Guardian" of the Queen, and grown old in a guardianship wherein more things were comic than merry, and less things were loving than fierce, who is witness of the last scene. "It was just at three in the morning when she saw Lady Scrope rise, bend over the bed, listen attentively and then, slipping to the window, drop a ring into her brother's hand. And a moment later the sound of a horse's hoofs, ridden madly, clashed on the paving stones as Cary rushed to tell the news to the King of Scotland. And then from the bed-chamber, where of late had reigned such utter silence, save for the fluttering breath of the dying woman, came a sound of bitter weeping from one who bewailed the Red Queen, not as she was, but for what she might have been."

That is the final portrait, and the first is of a slim, red-haired girl who was often misunderstood; and between the two there are many others, done with a skill for which the authoress deserves our thanks.

R. B.

BEARDLESS COUNSELLORS. By Cecily Hallack. London and Edinburgh: Sands. 1923. 7*s.* 6*d.*

THERE is something in this book reminiscent of *Stalky and Co.*, and something also of the writings of Michael Fairless—a strange combination it might be said. But there is the aptness of the one and a good deal of the quiet beauty of the other. Yet the greater part of it would seem to be especially of Miss Hallack herself. She has many gifts; of poetry, in the whispering of leaf and rippling of stream; of humour, of a very wonderful insight and of great reverence. And by their means she has made a beautiful book, and the more so because of its fun and of the many delightful minor characters. There is something wonderfully pleasant about Miss Hallack's atmosphere, and her people—for her people are real people—are the nicest lot of people I have met for a long time. *Beardless Counsellors* is a book I shall always be glad I had the good luck to read.

R. B.

History

THE IRISH REVOLUTION. By William O'Brien. Dublin: Maunsel and Roberts. 1923. 16*s.*

WILLIAM O'BRIEN was the best of the Anti-Parnellites. The last to leave Parnell, he was the first to come back to something like Parnellite policy, and with the happiest results. He has three great achievements to his credit. The fight against Balfour, which survived Pigott, but was defeated by O'Shea; the reunion of Irish nationalism at the end of the 19th century; and the vast transaction of Irish Land Purchase. Others were joined with him; but he was the governing spirit in each of these enterprises, and it is part of the sarcastic horror of Irish Politics that his reward was twenty years of ruin and unpopularity.

There has always been something of pragmatic absurdity about William O'Brien—"Who is this new lunatic?" asked Forster—that somehow enabled him to achieve, where men of sobriety and sense have wholly failed. His real quality, disguised in a cloud of ecstatic and almost hysterical rhetoric, is a power of seeing things truly, beneath the surface that journalism or politics has carefully spread over them. Politicians hate truth; it is their Satanic attribute. And the degree of unpopularity that may be attained by such a quality, as is here described, is quite amazing. O'Brien was in fact for many years one of the most thoroughly unpopular men in the country.

Yet the least satisfactory passages of his book are those devoted to the "Irish Revolution" which gives it its name. Absurd and yet effective himself, Mr. O'Brien never seems to realise the real nature of the tremendous and all-powerful paradox that carries the Irish people from one miracle to another in the years between 1913 and 1923; that suddenly places Professor MacNeill at the head of a great army, for instance. The Gaelic League and the I.R.B., to take two points, play no part in the Story. The artistic side of the national movement O'Brien realises better, but sensing the practical weakness of character of Yeats and Synge, he scarcely understands their intellectual position.

"They went to the ludicrous length of despising because it was 'intelligible' the poetry of Thomas Davis, which was so grossly 'intelligible' that it has roused the hearts of two generations of Irishmen like a burst of trumpets. They actually proposed the De-Davisisation of Ireland (the phrase is that of the intellectuals) as an adventure of the highest literary distinction. The insincerity of these *précieux* and consequently their futility may be illustrated by a story of perhaps the most distinguished of their number, the ill-fated poet Synge, as related by another and more delicate dreamer, Mr. W. B. Yeats: "I once asked him: 'Do you write

from hatred of Ireland or for love of her ? ' and he answered : That is just what I often ask myself. '

With the single exception of Mr. Griffith, always a man of sound sense as well as high purpose, the intellectuals were *frondeurs* who found a superior virtue in disclaiming any part in the hard battles which had restored the ownership of the soil to the people . . . "

With their Catholic contemporaries he has more sympathy. The older men fancied that :—

"There was no longer to be found a body of Irishmen who thought Ireland worth dying for. To the amaze of the older generation it turned out that such men were to be counted by the thousand—the very flower of the race—men for whom patriotism was a holy religion—who were as eager for death for the ' Little Black Rose ' in the firing line or on the gallows as were the Christian Martyrs for the embrace of the beasts in the Coliseum. We had not kept pace with the newer school of the Pearses and O'Rahillys and MacDonaghs who had replaced the dilettanti, and who in half a dozen obscure sheets were inditing a new testament of which self-immolation for Ireland was the chief of the beatitudes, and in the very wilderness where all noble purpose seemed to have perished were raising up a generation whose disinterestedness, whose sobriety of character, whose almost incredible gift for combining action with idealism were to sweeten the air with the effervescence of a divine Springtime of the Gael."

The following sentence, at the beginning of Chapter 15, might almost serve as a text to show how much the Irish members (including O'Brien himself) had fallen out of touch with things in Ireland : "As I was entering the House of Commons on Easter Monday afternoon, the door-keeper informed me that Dublin was in rebellion and that the Castle had been attacked." O'Brien does no justice to Dillon's rebellion speech, which was the one good deed of a member of the then Irish party in that crisis. Dillon, like Antaeus, had regained the strength of youth from being in Dublin in those days, but was duly strangled on his return to Westminister. The story of what followed in English politics is the most interesting part of the book.

The cruelty of Asquith and his Dublin agents had set American opinion ablaze ; and yet that opinion was all important. Lloyd George, Carson and O'Brien have an interview, reported by O'Brien :

"The Irish-American vote will go over to the German side. They will break our blockade and force an ignominious peace on us unless something is done even provisionally to satisfy America."

The Italians were doubled up, France bleeding to death.

(*With sudden energy*)—"In six months the war will be lost." So far Lloyd George.

Carson (*throwing up his hands, presumably as a Greek chorus*) : "If the war is lost, we are all lost."

The problem was how to get out of the mess thus created by Asquith and Carson.

The opportunities of such a situation for an Irish leader of resource were enormous, but O'Brien, Redmond, Devlin and the rest seem to have been quite unable to use them. The *Sinn Feiners* were in gaol. A proposal for a provisional government went to pieces upon the rock of partition.

"I replied [says O'Brien] that a three-quartered Parliament in Dublin would be hopelessly handicapped from the first. They would have no funds for anything except to pay the place-hunters, and there would be no generous spirit to appeal to. They would divide from the first into two bodies, the placemen and their backers and the young idealists, who would, I think, shrink from the whole ugly business and turn to other means—that is to say if you could get them to tolerate the thing at all."

In the end Lloyd George, with the connivance of the Irish party and the Southern Unionists, framed a far more satisfactory solution of the problem, a solution in which he got everything in return for—nothing. He "sold" Irish-America the "gold-brick" of the Irish Convention, and the thing was done.

Not less interesting, if it is authentic, is O'Brien's version of what happened at the Irish peace conference; it differs greatly from the account submitted by either side in recent discussions:

"The notion came (my information goes) from the ingenious brain of Mr. Winston Churchill, whose position as Colonial Secretary gave him a more commanding influence than ever in his ill-fated incursions into the affairs of Ireland. He, with the express authority of Mr. Lloyd George, conveyed to the Irish delegates an assurance that the Boundary Commission would be so arranged as to ensure the transfer to the Irish Free State of the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, the City of Derry and the important town of Newry, and that 'Northern Ireland,' thus virtually restricted to three counties, would find itself compelled to throw in its fortunes with the Free State. . . ."[1]

"It is more creditable to the moral courage of the Irish delegates and, I believe, truer to the facts, to conclude that their signatures were obtained, not so much under pressure of the threats of the Government, shameful though they were, as in reliance upon the promise of Mr. Winston Churchill and the Prime Minister that the Boundary Commission would result in the inevitable merger of the Six Counties in the Free State of Ireland. As it turned out, that promise had to be broken, and the Boundary Commission reduced to a parochial business, if it is to be heard of any more; and the first violation of the Treaty, in its spirit if not in its letter, had to be charged against England."

In these passages, O'Brien certainly touches on an aspect of the Treaty question of great importance, and upon which little has been written. Churchill's promise, *i.e.*, the exclusion of *Protestant* Ulster only, was the least that the Irish delegates could

[1] Collins later blurted this out, and Churchill challenged in the Commons by the Ulstermen gave it a technical and misleading denial. Yet in substance it was true.

in honour have accepted upon the Ulster question; one hopes that O'Brien is right in suggesting that it is the least they ever did accept.

The Ulster question far more than the Irish Revolution is the subject of O'Brien's work. With the republican point of view O'Brien has no sympathy, and probably as little understanding of it as the Hibernians had of his own views. But he is and has been all his life, an anti-Partitionist Home Ruler. In later years Home Rule has meant for him Colonial Home Rule, but as he was like Patrick Pearse a devolutionist, he still argues for the "Councils (*recté* Council) Bill." In the present Treaty he sees the complete attainment of half his policy, wedded to the utter failure of the other half. His campaign ever since 1903 has been a campaign against partition and in favour of Protestant (and Unionist) conciliation. Dillon and Devlin, on the other hand, in his view, fighting against conciliation, landed themselves and even their victorious successors in the definite partition of Ireland. Simply stated the problem in the early years of the century was (and in some measure still is) this. Is it possible, by giving the Southern Freemasons a large or a controlling influence in Irish self-government, to conciliate or at worst to sterilise the Orange opposition to an Irish parliament? When you are told that Lord So-and-So or Sir Such-Such is a broad-minded man, with wide interests and very popular with all parties in Ireland, interpreted this means that he is a high-up Freemason. O'Brien thought that you had only to bring a sufficient number of So-and-So's and Such-Such's into your scheme of self-government and Ulster must come in; and this view is held by many at the present time. Devlin and Dillon—Redmond maintained an ineffective neutrality—either thought that Freemason Home Rule was not worth having, or that no amount of Southern Freemasonry could conciliate Ulster Orangeism. The power of Orange Ulster they probably underestimated. O'Brien now claims that events have justified his contention, that Ulster or its masters could have been conciliated. "It might have been" is not only the saddest, but it is also the most misleading expression in the language. On the Ulster question each will form his own opinion. It may be that properly encouraged Southern Freemasonry, with all its English connections, could have coerced Protestant Ulster. But, expressing only a personal view, all recent events seem rather to bear witness to the irreconcilable and irrepressible character of Ulster resistance.

As has been said, O'Brien is in no sense a republican, even in

the sense that Collins was. His views of the existing situation will then be read with interest. He shows no leaning to the point of view of either side. Of the one side he writes :—

"It is no less true that the proceedings of the Republicans or of those who disguise themselves in their garb have often reached a pitch of folly that might well be mistaken for dementia. Their criminal recklessness of the life and limbs of non-combatants, their forced levies, their bomb-throwings and burnings, and railway raids in every form of blind destructiveness that could imperil the people's means of communication, their sources of employment and even their daily food—shook the foundations of morals and civilisation to their base, and might well seem to justify the sacred fury with which any suggestion of a truce with such men on any terms short of unconditional subjection or extermination was denounced as treason to the first principles of society. Recriminations are natural enough in the first heat of hasty and uninformed judgments on both sides. But recriminations are a poor game when it has become a question of splitting Ireland from top to bottom by new chasms of hatred among her sons, which generations may labour in vain to reclose. A cause capable of inspiring a hundred thousand young Irishmen to the most amazing and tenacious sacrifices, month after month, in the face of overwhelming odds, cannot be a wholly guilty one, and assuredly is not to be disposed of by words of wrath any more than by the volleys of the firing platoons to which the official reprisals were entrusted."

whilst of the Treaty and its supporters he says :—

"A Treaty which was only sanctioned by a majority of one, of its five Irish signatories, and by a majority of seven in the Dáil even under the dishonest threat of the return of the Black-and-Tans, can hardly be said to carry in itself the sacredness of an irrevocable decree by a nation. The Provisional Government which was the outcome of that narrow vote based all its authority upon the claim that it represented the vote of an overpowering majority of the Irish people—it was put as high as 95 and even 99 per cent.—at the General Election of June, 1922. That claim is however a notoriously untenable one. True majority rule was represented at the General Election by the Collins-De Valera Pact solemnly recommended to the country by the unanimous resolutions of the Dáil and of the Ard-Fhéis—that is to say of men who alone had made any Treaty possible. The painful violation of that Pact at the last moment all but completely mystified and nullified the vote of 'Southern Ireland' at the General Election, sending back a decreased number of Free Staters as well as a more largely decreased number of Republicans and substituting for the defeated candidates of both sides a new body of Labourites and nondescript Independents, whose appearance was the only genuine resultant of the General Election. The General Election was in reality a stalemate. Those who stirred up the repudiation on the eve of the polls of the *modus vivendi* unanimously endorsed by the Dáil and by the Ard-Fhéis were the men who set the Civil War, with all its horrors, going."

When "physical force" men fall out, constitutionalists come by their own, or at least feel that they ought to.

There is much that is interesting in this book, but it is padded out with far too much stale politics. And with a broad and tolerant general outlook, a real spirit of uplift, in these depressing times, O'Brien unfortunately combines an unlimited capacity for individual denunciation. Devlin of course gets most of it.

Yet somehow one feels that he detests Dillon more. It is only the comrade of youth who can become the object of one's deepest hatred. To us of the present generation enmeshed in our own quarrels, it is a gloomy consolation to realise how those of the last hated one another. ARTHUR E. CLERY.

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR IRELAND. Being a description of the state of Ireland in the reign of James I. Edited by George O'Brien, Litt.D., M.R.I.A., F.R.HIST.S. Dublin: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. 1923. 6*s*.

BY an ingenious collation of data, culled from the intrinsic evidence of the manuscript itself, Dr. O'Brien fixes both the year of the compilation and the writer thereof. His date of 1623, which he regards "with certainty," is probably correct, and I would add, from an intimate acquaintance with the State Papers of that period, that September, 1623, narrows the issue. A greater difficulty arises as to who wrote the "Advertisements." Dr. O'Brien, by an examination of the names of likely contemporary writers, fulfilling the conditions of an Anglo-Irish gentleman concerned with the increase of the royal revenue, arrives at the conclusion that the author was Sir Henry Bourchier, afterwards fifth Earl of Bath.

Now, Sir Henry Bourchier fulfils all the conditions to be expected of the author of these valuable notes, as not only was he Anglo-Irish, but was born in Ireland, and was M.A. and a Fellow of T.C.D. This latter position he obtained in 1601, at the same time as Ambrose Usher, Edmond Hill, and John Winch, and he succeeded as fifth Earl of Bath in 1626—leaving at his death, in 1654, a sum of £200 to Trinity College Library. There is just one little detail—unnoticed by Dr. O'Brien—to be found in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Ireland), 1625–1632, that seems to confirm Bourchier's authorship—namely, a précis of the Report of the Irish Commissioners on the complaints of the Court Officers in Ireland, under date of October 19, 1626, in which it is stated that the "book" made up by the late Commissioners for Ireland "is in the custody of Sir Henry Bourchier, Knt." Another strengthening argument will be found in the *Lismore Papers*.

The "Advertisements" give a conspectus of the state of the country, the social conditions, the natural resources, etc., with suggestions for "the advancement of the King's profit and the Kingdom's welfare." Dr. O'Brien supplies valuable notes, which will prove very helpful.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from a brief quotation, which is apropos at the present day:—

> And I see no country or land so likely as Ireland to grow suddenly rich by trading and merchandize, for it hath more peculiar wares to bring in moneys and other rich wares than any other country, kingdom or dominion of Europe of the like quality and greatness. . . . And that which adds much to the speedy flourishing of any land, the natives there are so apt to learn as any nation, as capable of discipline, as hardy to endure, as able men, as active, and now for the most part as willing to embrace good government, civility and industry. There lives not a people more hardy, able, active and painful when once they brake off from sluggishness and laziness; neither is there any will endure the miseries of war, as are famine, watching, heat, cold, wet, travel and the like, so naturally and with that facility and courage that they do.

The book is handsomely produced, and the type is beautifully clear—even though bearing a foreign imprint—nor can the price, six shillings, be regarded as unduly high.

W. H. Grattan Flood.

IRISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES, 1509-1610. By Constantia Maxwell. London: Allen and Unwin. 1923. 15*s*. net.

By the compiling and editing of this book Miss Maxwell has conferred an important benefit on both the teachers and the students of Irish history. It provides the former with a valuable reference book for the use of themselves and their classes, while it enables the latter to discover, without the time and trouble involved in consulting numbers of expensive texts, often difficult of access, what was the judgment of contemporaries regarding the historical problems which they are investigating, and especially how these were viewed by opposing religious creeds or political parties. The extracts are classified according to their subjects. The sections dealing with the Plantations and with the varied phases of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation are particularly full and valuable. Miss Maxwell has spared no pains in bringing together her materials. The English State Papers hold, perhaps, the first place. We have "Pacata-Hibernia"; the works of Fynes Moryson; of Sir John Davys; Spenser's "View of the State of Ireland"; O'Sullivan Beare's "Catholic History"; the "Annals of the Four Masters"; O'Clery's "Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell" all represented, besides other less known authorities; several Irish statutes and some versions of Irish poems dealing with contemporary personages.

The author is, as the above list shows, well justified in claiming

that " the Irish point of view has not been neglected in the choice of documents," but yet one feels that more place might have been given to the native authorities. O'Clery's account of the Battle of the Curlew Hills, for example, might have been set against the English soldier's narrative of the Battle of the Yellow Ford, and some extracts given from O'Sullivan Beare's wonderful narrative of his uncle's famous " Retreat " from Glengarriff to Leitrim. It must, of course, be confessed that the English sources are more numerous by far ; but, to the Irish reader, the Irish ones are more important, since it is the doings and the feelings of the native rulers and their followers that he chiefly desires to understand. Again, some of the worst features of Elizabethan policy in Ireland have not been given the prominence which their demerits seem to deserve. In the Introduction the " frequent attempts to assassinate chieftains who stood in the way of Government designs " are mentioned in general and condemned. But of the correspondence regarding these attempts we have no examples in the text. From the account given by Carew of the regrettable failure of the plot to murder John Fitzthomas Fitzgerald ; the letter of the same official to Mountjoy regarding the activities of the English agent Blake, by whom Red Hugh O'Donnell was almost certainly poisoned ; the narrative of the horrible massacre of Rathlin Island and Queen Elizabeth's commendation of its author ; certain of the notices of the numerous attempts made against Shane O'Neill and Hugh O'Neill, some selections might have been made. A knowledge of these things is necessary, if we are to understand the attitude of the Irish towards the English Government.

In the Introduction too, able and valuable as it is, the shadows on the Irish side of the picture appear at times rather unduly darkened. Tanistry was not, as a passage on page 24 seems to imply, a system depending practically on the force of the strongest. In each Irish state there was a custom of succession rarely departed from. Again (page 40) the fixing of the succession to the Earldom of Tyrone on Matthew O'Neill was as little in accordance with English as with Irish ideas. That the English authorities were quite aware of the illegitimacy of this eldest son of the Earl appears plainly from the very terms of the patent itself. Instead of declaring that the title should pass to Conn O'Neill's legitimate male heirs, it especially names Matthew. Only in one other patent, that for the Earldom of Thomond, is an individual heir mentioned, and here the successor is to be the tanist, not the son of the first holder. When the causes of the Flight of the Earls

are mentioned (page 44) we hear nothing of Howth's anonymous letter, nor of the grievance alleged by O'Neill and O'Donnell against the British Government in the document which they issued after their departure.

It might be remarked as minor points that Dr. Sander was not a Jesuit (page 34) and that Queen Mary ceased, after the first months of her reign, to claim the title of Supreme Head of the Church (page 29).

It is to be hoped that Miss Maxwell will continue her labours, and that soon we shall receive from her light to guide us through that "confused and confusing" period, the Insurrection of 1641 and the Civil Wars that followed it. M. T. H.

ETUDES DE CRITIQUE ET D'HISTOIRE RELIGIEUSE. 4me Série. E. Vacandard. Paris: Gabalda. 1923. 7fr.

A VETERAN historian has here presented us with a number of essays, most of which deal with subjects of great interest. For those who know the capabilities of the author such titles as "The False Joan of Arc," "The Prophecies of St. Malachy," "The Author of the Imitation," "Pope Joan," will prove a strong invitation to acquire and read the book. The remaining four essays will prove worthy to detain their attention. M. Vacandard does not, indeed, rise to the heights of historical genius, nor is he a profound original investigator. But he gives us in such essays as these fruit of much judicious reading and much thoughtful consideration. The essay on the fabled female pope is in its own way a finished little piece of historical work. Nothing is omitted which can throw light on the origins, the diffusion, the criticism of the strange myth which (as M. Vacandard shows) was at a given period accepted and circulated even by Catholic writers. The story of the false Joan of Arc—a pretender accepted for a time by the actual family of the heroine of Domrémy—is also well told, and its various aspects of mystery and difficulty are well brought out.

The study of the reputed prophecy of St. Malachy regarding the Popes is not so deserving of praise. It is, doubtless, a question of proof-reading, but the article is not improved by the errors which it includes as to the names and numbers of certain Popes: thus "Innocent XI" is twice put for "Innocent IX" and twice for "Leo XI"; Clement VII stands for Clement VIII. The line of argument followed towards the demolition of the high claims of this celebrated "prophecy" is simply that of Fathers Thurston, S.J., and Merestrier, S.J. The case against the prophecy is on some sides quite irrefutable; but there will always remain in many

minds a suspicion or conviction that this elaborate forgery is not wholly a forgery—cannot be, for the reason that its vaticinations have been—long after the date supposed for its origin by the critics, 1585–1595—too well fulfilled. M. Vacandard's hostility, however, admits of no shades.

The volume opens with "L'Apostolat de St. Pierre à Rome." The author contents himself with following and summarising an article by M. Paul Ulonceaux ; it appeared in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature réligieuses*, and successfully championed the Catholic tradition as to St. Peter's labours at Rome in face of a large volume devoted to the refutation of that tradition by M. E. Guignebert.

The story of St. Geneviève, friend of Clovis and patroness of Paris, is agreeably told : a smooth-flowing narrative in the text and learned discussions in the numerous notes—this is an example deserving of the respect of our hagiographers. M. Vacandard defends Thomas à Kempis as author of the *Imitation of Christ*. He shows that the world-famous antiphon *Salve Regina* was composed by Aymor, bishop of Puy-en-Velay, in the eleventh century. He traces a pleasing picture of the old age of Pierre Corneille—great dramatist and great Christian. G. O'N.

Poetry and Drama

THE MAGIC TREE. By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya.
PERFUME OF EARTH. By the same.
Madras : Shama' a Publishing House. 1923. 4*s*. each.

THE interesting phenomenon of a poet writing in alien speech and addressing mainly readers whose ways and traditions of thought are no less alien to his own, is brought before us in the above-named volumes by a notable poet of India. Notable his work renders him. He has mastered the idiom of the foreigner from the far West, while his thought and feeling continue to range through paths unlike any through which poets of Europe have wafted their readers. We are not forgetting the poems of Westerns who have sat at the feet of the East. They have never been thorough-going, all-renouncing disciples. Their charm has been a composite one. Rückert, or Leconte de Lisle, or Yeats—each has taken from the East something that gave a spice of strangeness to his Western art and themes ; none of them thought of abnegating anything—much less the whole—of their ancestral inheritance. Something quite different, then, do we find when we open Rabindranath Tagore or H. Chattopadhyaya. Here, in great purity, although in the language and verse of modern England, is spoken the exotic

thought of immemorial India. This would give their writing a special claim on our attention, even were their poems less attractive than they actually are.

That they express a distinctive philosophy does not mar their universal value as poetry. For in truth that philosophy is as akin to poetry as it is unconformable to English, French, or German thought. The Indian has always joined a rare sensitiveness to a rare gift of recollection. He is not pragmatic, fact-worshipping, economical, like the characteristic philosophies of Europe. He lives, he loves in a world which he keenly feels to be full of beautiful and appealing things. But then are they indeed things ? No ; they are, he knows, but shows and illusions. The poet, the sincere thinker, the lover of things in their pure reality, frees himself from belief, but does not therefore despise. He does not refuse the face value to the chaos of lovely or hateful forms that whirl around him, unsubstantial though they be. Is there behind them all a Living Reality—actual, attainable Light, Life, Love ? To that question the answers come elusive, vague, varying, rarely on any note of gladness.

Of such a general conception of life two contrasting views are given in a poem of Chattopadhyaya's called "The Peacock"—one of the most easily intelligible of this writer's lyrics. The peacock, sitting "on Life's resplendent garden wall," is dissatisfied with the brilliant show he makes ; he is impatient of splendours that "are but the playthings of a day" ; he cherishes within "an inextinguishable breath,"

> That cleaves like white transparent fire
> The passing pride of painted plume,
> The myriad peacock—hued desire
> That hungers in the body's gloom.

But, sitting next him, the peahen voices a different philosophy :—

> What though a fleeting thing,
> I still prefer the body's gaud
> And its voluptuous colouring
> To that white flame you call the breath,
> Whose life is pure and infinite . . . .
> Richer I count a gorgeous death
> Than life that has no hues in it.

For such is the true life—a white immutable thing. Life as we know it is, on the contrary, a chain of variations on the same themes of illusion. We may prefer the one, with the peacock, or the other, with the peahen ; but the dualism always confronts us. Human adventures, such as love, with their joys and sorrows,

are accidents endlessly recurring. Hence such a love-song as the following :—

> You are no stranger to my eyes.
> Lo ! something in me seems to know
> The flame that in their silence lies,
> Illumined centuries ago.
>
> Your touch upon my brow recalls
> The tingling of ten million years,
> Into my soul a blossom falls
> As out of old celestial spheres.

The pure white invariable existence is God. But is this divine existence much more than pure negation ? In this lone self-being is there aught of substance or power ? So asks the poem called "Dependence."

> What can He do without the universal power ;
> How will He pass His long eternity of love
> Without our aid ? He seeks from even the frailest flower
> On earth a little strength to live His life above.
>
> We give Him love, we build or break His home of sky,
> We tend the gardens of His peace until they flower ;
> In us He seeks His solace and forgets His cry . . . .
> We make Him richer and sublimer every hour.

We do not now ask how such a conception of the Absolute rewards abnegation of the Transient or the steadfast contemplation of the sage. Nor, in truth, shall we find an answer at all likely to satisfy us in these two volumes. But we may, nevertheless, acknowledge the elevation of thought and feeling that is their general characteristic. Such steadfast aspiration athwart a pagan dimness may shame and humble souls that have been visited by far brighter lights.

The isolation of contemplation is the noblest state according to the nobler Indian soul ; yet pity and gentleness are also good. While these poems make little allusion to social, none to national, questions, yet they show abundant sympathy with down-trodden or suppressed humanity. Of such sympathy the address to the Peasant which concludes the lyrics of *Perfume of Earth* might afford us an illustration, or else the fine altruism of "Famine;" but we have already almost exceeded our due meed of quotation.

Coming down to purely literary aspects, we may remark the beautiful and (to Western readers) fresh imagery of a few impression-pieces like "Camels." Interesting is it also to feel the new uses to which some well-thrummed English metres are here put. Such, for example, is the new, rather than old, melody that is heard

from the heroic couplet in lines like these from " Moment of Soul " :—

> Yet are there moments when the common clay
> That stifles the immaculate flame within
> All suddenly doth of itself begin
> To be transformed into a lamp divine
> Meet for God's shadowless mysterious shrine,
> Shedding the soul like perfumed radiance . . .
> 'Tis then that visible beauty weaves its dance, etc.

G. O'N.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FRENCH ROMANTIC DRAMA. With Special Reference to the Influence of Shakespeare, Scott, and Byron. By F. W. M. Draper, M.A. London : Constable. 1923. 15*s.*

Much has been written on the history of French Romanticism ; yet there was room for a book containing so much material of great use and interest to students of the subject. The author has delved in newspapers and reviews, memoirs and academic discourses of the period, which are inaccessible to the general reader ; and he quotes some of those excellent modern monographs which go out of print with such irritating rapidity. The mass of detail is relieved by innumerable pleasant touches, amusing or piquant anecdotes, and vivid sketches of the personalities of that tumultuous time. Here, for instance, is Nodier, seated near Dumas at a play called the *Vampire* of which he himself was part author—

> A tall man of some forty years of age, clad in grey pantaloons, black cravat, a chamois waistcoat and blue coat with a red ribbon at the button-hole, who read an Elzevir during the intervals. He had a kind and sympathetic face, black hair, grey-blue eyes, a nose slightly bent to one side, a fine-cut, sarcastic, witty mouth, and spoke with a strong franc-comtois accent.
>
> The tall man followed the action of the play with slight attention and some disdain. The grammar of the dialogue appeared to inspire him with contempt.
>
> " Explique-toi," said Ithuriel ; " serait-il vrai que d'horribles fantômes *viennent* quelquefois ? . . ."
>
> My neighbour, says Dumas, shivered as though an asp had stung him.
>
> " Vinssent ! " he cried, " vinssent ! "'
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The tall man's murmurs were apparently before long exchanged for hisses, with unfortunate results, for on the following day a newspaper chronicled the following fragment of news : " Our learned booklover, Charles Nodier, was turned out of the Porte-Saint-Martin last night because he disturbed the performance of the *Vampire* by hissing."

And here is a meeting of the initiated, at his famous *cénacle* at the Arsenal.

> Any young poet reading at the Arsenal unpublished work, bad, indifferent or merely immature, could rely on adequate, even exaggerated applause. In fact . . . a new vocabulary had to be invented or stolen . . .

Balzac draws a picture of such a scene in a salon that can have been no other than Nodier's. The jargon flows in rushing torrents of sound.

"'It is sombre and magnificent like a winter's night!'

'It is poetry which unfortunately can be understood by no more than ten men of the people!'

'It is a tower of carved ivory!'

'It is apocalyptic!'

'It is Homer, Dante, Milton and Ariosto, reproduced from a vignette of the Middle Ages!'

'It is enamelled work from Florence!'

'It is a concentric mirror in which nature is reflected!'

"Then, the voices growing more confused, I heard as it were the chorus of an opera, through the din of which pierced a few notes louder than the rest.

'Psychologic, — oecumenic, — polytechnic, — pathologic, — fic, — plic,—blic,— curious, — divine! — astounding! — pounding, — bounding, — poetic, — scriptural, . . Byron!—Scott!—bon,—Aal,—pal,—Zschokke!'"

The while Nodier, according to another contemporary, "lived at peace in the middle of it all; he enjoyed the favours of the monarchy and the sympathies of the opposition; the Classics elected him to the Académie, and the Romantics filled his house. The fact is that he laughed up his sleeve at one party no less than the other. . . ."

But will it be believed that a book of 300 pages, bristling with facts, dates, and references, is presented without any index, and with a table of contents barely suggesting the substance of many chapters? There is moreover a lack of arrangement which involves fairly frequent repetition and makes cross-references—not once accurately given—eminently desirable.

A rather vague introduction about Romanticism in general is followed by a coherent and informative chapter on Scott's vogue in France, and the borrowings and imitations of contemporary playwrights, especially in melodrama and vaudeville: destined to become so many ingredients in the recipe of the genuine Romantic drama.

Five chapters in which are confusedly interwoven the story of the Romantic *cénacles*, a retrospective history of Shakespeare in France, and a chronological account of the epoch-marking and vigorously assailed Romantic plays, give—in their very disorder—a good idea of the confused aims, shifting alliances, variously compounded dramatic, poetic, historical, and political notions of the ardent spirits of the time.

The later Romantic "campaign" is consecutively recorded, and there is an admirable chapter on the genesis and development of the Romantic Hero.

It is interesting to study the use—and misuse—by the Romantic playwrights of this word *fatal*, whose employment in French literature is a sequel to the popul-

arity the works of Byron earned in France. It became the thing in French society to affect the Byronic pose of the *homme fatal*. . . .

. . . . . .

The second and more characteristic type of Romantic hero is no longer at war with Fate or with a single personal enemy. He is in revolt against the society which has wronged him. . . Many figures in this class wear the Byronic gloom, like an Esperanto button, as the badge of their kind and use the word *fatal* of themselves because it is the fashionable shibboleth.

The setting-forth of the political (and social : the use of this word in the heading would make for clearness) aspect of the Romantic drama leads the author to widen his scope. He aims first at giving "a more complete politico-dramatic tableau of the times" by showing how the stage in general was used for political propaganda ; and then brings instances to prove "that the republican and Bonapartist politicians, the anti-dynastic dramatists, and the Romantic playwrights, poets, artists and musicians were all members of a close corporation, working in their several capacities for a literary and a political revolution, whose boundaries continually overlapped." It may be questioned whether the facts brought forward bear out so absolute a conclusion. The author seems to accept the political revolution as inevitable, and with it he involves the religious decay of the period. He quotes, with apparent sympathy, a passage that begs several questions which we have no room to discuss :—

"You have not the slightest idea what the police were like under the Restoration, let alone the priesthood. Only those who have lived under the Bourbons can form an idea of the terrorizing to which they lent themselves. People may tell us that they were kind and charitable, and this and that and the other. There never were greater tyrants than they were at heart ; and if the Duc d'Angoulême or the Comte de Chambord had come to the throne, France would have sunk to the intellectual level of Spain. I would sooner see the most godless republic than a return to that state of things."

In some other subsidiary questions also the author reproduces commonplaces without criticism or analysis, where such would be essential for a sound view. For example the *cliché* about André Chénier as a precursor of the Romantics : it is true they claimed him ; and the background suggested for Dumas' unscrupulous protagonists.

To get back, with our author, to the subject, the rise and fall of Romantic drama, it fell for a complexity of reasons. Vigny withdrew from the hurly-burly, Hugo grew absurd, Dumas changed his line. The cost of staging (—is it English to speak of *mounting ?*) these plays was ruinous. For that reason and because of their traditions the actor-shareholders of the *Comédie Française*

were hostile. The beauty and sanity of the Classics began to be appreciated anew. But most of all, the public got weary and disgusted :

> From a doctrinal freedom of morals to an unsectarian licentiousness, from immoral principles to indecency of dramatic action, was but a pace. And then, as next step, scenes of lewdness were followed by deeds of blood and violence, till the Romantic stage resembled a shambles and its catalogue of dramatic incidents rivalled the charge sheet of a criminal court. The Romantic theatres became, it is impossible to deny it, "kaleidoscopes of vice and camera obscuras of crime," from which not even the frequent claims of the Romantics to the privilege of satirist could remove the pervading blackness.

There are a very few gallicisms, hard to avoid when one is steeped in the study of French ; but one of them is misleading, because of the specialised sense of *drame*. It is slightly confusing to be told that "Dumas, while inaugurating the historical drama, did not invent the historical play ;" or that "Drama, in a word, is literary melodrama."

Altogether, the book would be an extremely useful repertory of information if there were any adequate means of consulting it.

M. R.

Scripture

THE CATHOLIC STUDENT'S "AIDS" TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE. By Hugh Pope, O.P., S.T.M., D.S.Scr. Vol. III.—The Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse. London : Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1923. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

A HANDBOOK OF SCRIPTURE STUDY. By the Rev. H. Schumacher, D.D. Vol. III.—The New Testament. St. Louis and London : B. Herder. 1922. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

L'ETUDE DE LA BIBLE. Par L.-Cl. Fillion. Paris : Letouzey et Ané. 1922. 9*fr.*

CONCERNING THE HOLY BIBLE : Its Use and Abuse. By the Right Rev. Mgr. John S. Vaughan. London : Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1922. 4*s.* 6*d.*

SINCE Mgr. Grannan's *Introduction to the Bible* was reviewed in these pages last September there have been, besides the four books whose titles are given above, some important additions to Catholic Biblical literature. Among the more noteworthy are Father Callan's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles (Herder) and Père Lagrange's Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel (Gabalda). The former, with the exception of Dr. McEvilly's, may be said to be the only complete commentary in English on the Epistles of St. Paul[1] ; the latter is the first critical and scientific commentary in French on St. Matthew to appear in the twentieth century. We may also mention Dom Hildebrand Hœpfl's *Introductio Specialis in Libros* N.T. (Rome, 1922) and Father Martindale's book on the Apocalypse entitled *Princes of His People : St. John the Evangelist*

[1] We anticipate, for a second volume has yet to come, the present dealing only with Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians.

(London, 1923). At least two important lives of our Lord by Catholic writers (Abbé L.Cl. Fillion and Giovanni Papini, English translation) have appeared during the past year. It may be possible to notice some of these books in the next issue of *Studies*.

At last Father Pope's long-expected third volume has come, and his fine work is now complete. Volume I (1913) dealing with the Old Testament and Vol. II (1918) dealing with the Gospels are well-known and indispensable to students. The new volume is on the same lines. Yet we think it will not be amiss to call attention to the special features of the work. Its outstanding importance lies in the fact that, though a manual for students, it is what manuals commonly are not, a work of original thought and research. Father Pope has mastered not only the sacred text but a vast amount of the literature dealing with it, yet his work is not a mere compilation from approved sources, a collection of traditional conclusions accepted at second hand. He has been to the sources, and his conclusions are the fruit of personal and first-hand investigation. A second and very noteworthy merit is the use made of the Fathers and the value attached to their scriptural writings. "The work done," he says, "by such giants as Origen, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine . . . is an undying asset to the Christian Church and never has been, nor ever will be, surpassed." (p. 69.) "They have not," he says elsewhere (Preface p. x), "exhausted the possibilities of interpretation, but they so emphatically point out to us the right path, they so urgently insist that all true knowledge of God's word must be based on its supernatural character, that though a man may often find great help from modern commentators, he yet returns in the end to the Fathers."

A third feature of the work is its completeness. Its 460 pages are packed with information, often in a very condensed form, and we have not been able to notice any question of practical importance that is not here discussed. Each book of the New Testament is dealt with in turn, in a thoroughly methodical fashion. Thus, for instance, the book of the Acts of the Apostles is dealt with under the following heads :—A. Introductory Account. B. Analysis. C. Object and Scope. D. Extrinsic Confirmations of St. Luke's historical statements. E. Relationship to St. Paul's Epistles. F. Relationship to St. Luke's Gospel. G. Date. H. Canonicity and Authenticity. J. Decrees of Biblical Commission. K. Variants. L. Theological Teaching. M. Bibliography. In addition there are two general chapters—one on Chronology, the other on Apocrypha, three Appendices (including one on the "Brethren" of the Lord), excellent

Indexes and eight maps. We venture to single out as specially interesting the treatment of such topics as St. Paul's style, the purpose and date of Acts, the destination of the Epistle to the Galatians (Father Pope favours the South Galatian theory[1]), how to read St. Paul's epistles, the authorship of Hebrews.

Catholic students now possess an "Introduction" which is not inferior in scholarship to any non-Catholic work known to the writer, and is, to us Catholics, of far greater positive value.

A contrast in many ways to the work of Father Pope is that of Dr. Schumacher, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Catholic University of America. Owing to the fact that the first two volumes have not yet been published and that the scope and aim of the whole work is, we are told, to be set forth in the preface to Volume I, it is difficult to do full justice to the volume before us. The entire New Testament is dealt with in its 317 widely spaced pages. Each book is taken in turn; thus the headings for one of the Gospels are:—I. The Contents. II. The Author. III. Aim and Purpose. IV. Date and Place of Composition. V. Special Problems. VI. Decisions (summarised) of the Biblical Commission. There are, besides, special chapters on the Gospels in general, the Synoptic Problem (a long and elaborate discussion, pp. 42-60), the Pauline chronology, and the unity of the "Corpus Johanneum." The method is that of a skeleton outline in tabular form resembling notes of lectures. There is no continuous reading matter. Thus the author sets down seventeen "special problems" of St. Matthew's Gospel and thirty-seven Pauline problems. But they are merely stated with, in many cases, references to literature on the point. In no case is the solution given. The bibliography is copious but exclusively modern—English, French, and German—references to Latin works being rare. No indication is given as to which of the authors are Catholic and which non-Catholic, the bare title only being recorded.

In general it may be said that the whole subject is admirably mapped out in this Handbook, which ought to be of considerable value to advanced students and to professors.

Mgr. Vaughan's *Concerning the Holy Bible* first appeared in 1904. This is the second edition. It deals in a popular and readable way with various aspects of the Bible—the first Bible, &c.—Copies—Translations, Special Purpose of the Old Testament, Private Judgment and Free Enquiry, the Written and the Unwritten Word,

[1] Prof. Schumacher, on the contrary, considers the reasons for the North Galatian theory to be "decisive."

Specimen Difficulties, External Witnesses, Undesigned Coincidences, Honoured and Dishonoured (a contrast, a little one-sided we think, between Protestant and Catholic use of the Bible), Inspiration, Interpretation, Trustworthiness of Existing Texts, the Bible and the Sects. Mgr. Vaughan has contrived to bring the subjects he treats of well within the comprehension of any average person, and he has further succeeded in making them lively and interesting. Catholic lending libraries would do well to circulate this book.

L'Etude de la Bible reads like the farewell words of this veteran student of the Bible. For the past fifty years the Abbé Fillion has published work after work to the number of nearly forty volumes, and now, in the form of letters from an old professor to a young priest, he sets down the fruits of his ripe experience and of his reflections about the study of Holy Scripture. The purpose is to arouse in seminarians and in priests a greater love for the Bible and to afford them guidance in their studies. After some introductory letters on general topics, he deals successively with the uses of scripture for the personal life of piety, for theology, and for preaching. Then, in letters xxi to xlviii, he sets forth the method and means of studying the Bible, first with a view to ordinary acquaintance with it, and then with a view to a more thorough and scientific knowledge. He concludes with a very helpful outline of a scripture library.

The book cannot be said to contain much that is new : it does not deal with biblical problems, and is strictly conservative in outlook. But it gives a great deal of useful information in readable form and with a certain amiable simplicity and *naïveté*. The author's enthusiasm for his subject and his genuine piety are evident throughout. S. J. B.

Books also received :

Adams, Joseph	...	A Life of William Shakespeare. (Constable, 21/-).
Almedingen, Martha		The Catholic Church in Russia To-day. (Burns, O. W., 5/-).
Bazin, Rene	...	Charles de Foucauld. (Burns, O. W., 12/6).
Bellasis, Edward	...	Memorials of Mr. Serjeant Bellasis. (Burns, O. W., 5/-).
Bryant, Sophie	...	A Study in the Book of the Ancient Laws of Ireland. (Harding & More, 25/-).
Cecilia, Madame	...	The Gospel according to St. John. (Burns, O. W., 10/-).
Cecilia, Oldmeadow		The First Red Cross. Camillus de Lellis, 1550–1614. (Burns, O.W., 4/6).
Charles, Pierre	...	Un Essai de Luthéranisme. La Haute Eglise allemande, 1918–1923. (Beyaert, 8 fr.)
Chateaubriant, H.	...	La Brière. (Grasset, 7 fr. 50).
Clayton, Joseph	...	Economics for Christians. (Blackwell, 3/6).
Coulet, R. P.	...	L'Eglise et le problème international. (Editions Spes, 5 fr).
Crawford, Thomas	...	Can we abolish Capital ? (Sands, 1/-).
Dieckmann, Hermann		Die Verfassung der Urkirche. (Berlin : Verlag der Germania).
Delgairn, Hester	...	Within the Enclosure. (Sands, 7/-).
Earls, Michael	...	Father Shealy, S.J. (Worcester : Harrigan Press, 45 cents).
Ellis, Havelock	...	The Dance of Death. (Constable, 12/-).

FALLON, VALERE ... Eugenics. (Burns, O. W., 1/-).
FROBES, JOSEPH ... Lehrbuch der experimentellen Psychologie. New edition revised. (Herder, 24 fr.).
GASQUET, CARDINAL ... The Object and Scope of the Religious Life. Third edition. (Burns, O. W., 2/6).
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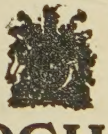

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